

FIRST CONGRESS  
of the  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
of CUBA

Havana  
December 17-22  
1975

(Collection of Documents)



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OPENING SPEECH BY RAÚL CASTRO RUZ,  
SECOND SECRETARY  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

In this year of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the first Communist Party of this country; 22 years since the assault on the Moncada Barracks that started the march toward the victorious revolution in which we live today; in this month in which we commemorate the 19th anniversary of the landing from the *Granma*; on the eve of the celebrations to mark the 17th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution; on this day on which it is 145 years since the death of Simon Bolivar, the Liberator of America; and after intensive preparations involving the whole of our Party and the whole of our people, we have met for the highest forum of the Cuban Communists, the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

This Congress, the first being held by our Party, is characterized by a wide range and diversity of topics which are to be submitted for its consideration, because the supreme organ of our society's revolutionary vanguard has the duty and responsibility to establish the principles, outline the objectives to be attained, and specify the tasks in all their numerous aspects bearing on the future course of our Revolution. In the course of the sittings of the Congress there will be a need to carry out an examination, necessarily extensive and profound, of everything that has been done up to now, and an analysis of the experience that has been

acquired. The documents and resolutions, which the Congress is to adopt, should contain the most important theoretical propositions clarifying the objectives that are to be attained, and the fundamental directives for practical work in the sphere both of domestic policy and of foreign policy.

In pursuance of Lenin's idea that the preparatory work for the Congress is as important as the work of the Congress itself, our Party has carried on for more than a year purposeful and intensive preparations for this forum, which we are opening today, and since April of this year the Communists have been receiving and discussing in every detail the various documents which are to be put before this First Congress for its consideration.

The basic documents, which are of the utmost importance for the whole development of the Revolution, namely, the Program Platform and our country's Draft Constitution, have been, in addition, broadly discussed by the whole people through its mass organizations.

The thesis "On the Full Exercise of the Equality of Women" has been just as broadly discussed. Most of the other theses have been discussed not only by all the members of the Party, but also by broad sections of the population belonging to the specific groups most concerned with the respective topics. For instance, the thesis "On the Agrarian Question and the Relations with the Peasantry" was presented for consideration by all the peasants of the country through their mass organization, the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP).

Never before, throughout the whole history of our country before the triumph of the Revolution, did the people have any opportunity of taking part, in such a broad and democratic form, in discussing all the basic questions bearing on its life, its problems, its future and the future of its Homeland. These massive consultations and popular discussions have most clearly

shown the Party's solid internal unity and the unprecedented unity of the working class and the whole revolutionary people with the Party, which is its vanguard, and with its highest leader, Comrade Fidel.

The process of these consultations has been highly instructive for us all: both for the masses and for the leaders; it has become a true school of politico-ideological education on the scale of the whole country.

The opinions and considerations that were expressed, being a manifestation of the collective experience and wisdom of the Party and the people, have helped to improve and enrich the theses and documents submitted for discussion, with hundreds of amendments arising from the suggestions and proposals coming from the members of the Party and the masses of the people. Thus, the draft of the Program Platform, the principal document to be considered by this Congress, had, as a result, 147 amendments added to it.

In terms of the importance and significance of the matters which are to be discussed and decided at this great assembly of the Cuban Communists; in terms of activity and enthusiasm of the masses involved in its preparation, the analysis of its documents, the pre-Congress emulation which spread across the country, and of the close link between the Party and the masses, which was so forcefully manifested in the course of this whole process, the assembly which we are opening today is, in effect, not only a Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, but also a Congress which all the revolutionary people of our country regards as its own.

To participate in this highest deliberative and decision-making body of our Party, the corresponding provincial conferences met to elect 3,136 delegates, of whom 3,116 are present here, 19 delegates are absent for urgent reasons, and 1 delegate, a woman who has lived a long and exemplary life of the revolutionary, Comrade Rosario Guillaume (Charito), died a few days ago.

Consequently, we have the required quorum for this important assembly to commence its activity, and I, therefore, declare the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba open.

Comrade delegates,

At this moment, as we Cuban Communists are gathered here together for this historic event, we cannot but bring to mind the memory and example of those who originated and laid the foundations of our struggle and forged our history; those who gave their lives for the supreme cause of the liberty of the Homeland and the emancipation of its people; the men whose efforts and sacrifices have made possible the achievements of our revolutionary present and the radiant prospects of our future. Let us, therefore, give our first thoughts in grateful homage to the memory of Céspedes, Agramonte, Martí, Maceo, Gómez, Baliño, Mella, Villena, Guiterras, Jesús Menéndez, Abel Santamaría, Neco López, Frank País, José Antonio Echeverría, Camilo, Che, Lázaro Peña and all the glorious and beloved heroes and martyrs of our Homeland.

It is also just that at this moment we should recall the decisive role played in the successful confrontation of the Revolution with the criminal aggressive acts and blockade launched by US imperialism and its lackeys against our people by international solidarity, above all the support of the socialist camp and, in particular, the assistance of Lenin's great Homeland, the Soviet Union, and its glorious Communist Party, whose assistance has always been timely, resolute and effective, and which offers a constant and outstanding example of proletarian internationalism.

A striking expression of this international solidarity is the fact that, having accepted our fraternal invitations, there are with us here today 85 delegations of communist, national-democratic and socialist parties, and national liberation movements, and also a group



Raúl Castro Ruz, Second Secretary  
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba,  
delivers the opening speech

of prominent personalities from authoritative international organizations.

Esteemed comrade guests, we salute you on behalf of all the delegates of our Congress, of all the Cuban Communists and of all our revolutionary people.

Our greetings to the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov.

To the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

To the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Comrade János Kádár.

To the delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, headed by General of the Army Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap.

To the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Paul Verner.

To the delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea, headed by Comrade Pak Sung Chul.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Comrade Vasil Bil'ak.

To the delegation of the Revolutionary Party of the People of Laos, headed by Comrade Phoumi Vongvichit.

To the delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, headed by Comrade Zh. Batmunkh.

To the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Comrade Henryk Jablonski.

To the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Josif Banc.

To the delegation of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam, headed by Comrade Vo Chi Cong.

To the delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade Todo Kurtović.

To the delegation of the German Communist Party (FRG), headed by Comrade Hermann Gautier.

To the delegation of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, headed by Comrade Lucio Lara.

To the delegation of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, headed by Comrade Rabah Bitat.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina, headed by Comrade Arnedo Alvarez.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Austria, headed by Comrade Franz Karger.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Belgium, headed by Comrade Albert de Conninck.

To the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, headed by Comrade Bruno Kuster.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Bolivia, headed by Comrade Emilio Balcázar.

To the delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Luis Carlos Prestes.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada, headed by Comrade William Kashtan.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia, headed by Comrade Gilberto Vieira.

To the delegation of the Congolese Labor Party, headed by Comrade Tsbister Tchikaya.

To the delegation of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, headed by Comrade Manuel Mora Valverde.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Chile, headed by Comrade Volodia Teitelboim.

To the delegation of the Socialist Party of Chile, headed by Comrade Carlos Altamirano.

To the delegation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, headed by Comrade Andreas Fantis.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark, headed by Comrade Knud Jespersen.

To the delegation of the Dominican Communist Party, headed by Comrade Carlos Doro.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador, headed by Comrade Pedro Saad.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Salvador, headed by Comrade Roberto Castellanos Calvo.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of the United States of America, headed by Comrade Arnold Johnson.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Finland, headed by Comrade Taisto Sinisalo.

To the delegation of the French Communist Party, headed by Comrade Georges Marchais.

To the delegation of the French Socialist Party, headed by Comrade Leonel Jospin.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by Comrade Reuben Falber.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Greece, headed by Comrade Harilaos Florakis.

To the delegation of the Guadeloupe Communist Party, headed by Comrade Hegesippe Ibéné.

To the delegation of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, headed by Comrade Antonio Fuentes.

To the delegation of the Democratic Party of Guinea, headed by Comrade Lansana Beavogui.

To the delegation of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and Capo Verde, headed by Comrade Francisco Méndez.

To the delegation of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, headed by Comrade Ram Carran.

To the delegation of the People's National Congress (Guyana), headed by Comrade Huberto Jack.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Honduras, headed by Comrade Dionisio Ramos.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of India, headed by Comrade N. K. Krishnan.

To the delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party, headed by Comrade Aziz Mobammed.

To the delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Iraq, headed by Comrade Zaid Haider.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Ireland, headed by Comrade Michael O'Riordan.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Israel, headed by Comrade Emile Habibi.

Comrade delegates,  
Esteemed guests,

We shall now go on to the election of the Presidium of the Congress.

The Council of Representatives of delegates from the various provinces has analyzed and elaborated a draft for the election of the Presidium of the Congress, which was circulated and is in the hands of each delegate.

The draft envisages that a group of Presidium members is to be renewed on every day of the sitting of the Congress.

The Council of Representatives has proposed the election to the Presidium of 452 comrades.

Do the delegates have any remarks or proposals for modifying the composition of the Presidium?

Let us vote on the Presidium of the Congress.

Those in favor of electing to the Presidium of the Congress the comrades proposed by the Council of Representatives, please raise your mandates.

Those against?

Any abstentions?

The Presidium has been elected unanimously.

We now give the chair to Comrade Juan Almeida Bosque for the first and second sittings of the Congress.

## REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA TO THE FIRST CONGRESS GIVEN BY COMRADE FIDEL CASTRO RUZ, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC CP CUBA

### INTRODUCTION

Esteemed guests,  
Dear Comrades,

In the great political processes, some events are of truly historic importance. One of these is the First Congress of the Party, which is opening now. To us has fallen the privilege of living through a culminating moment in the revolutionary life of our Homeland. To reach it, countless sons and daughters of various generations of the Cuban nation have had to sacrifice their lives. Many have given their lives for the noble cause of independence and justice, and our people's dignity and progress. At this moment, our grateful memory goes back first of all to those who suffered, fought and died in the wars of independence, in the ignominious conditions of the neocolony, in the fight against the last tyranny, and in the effort to consolidate and defend the Revolution. This Congress, which is now beginning its work, could never have been held without their ideas, their efforts and their blood.

From the glorious days of La Demajagua to this day, revolutionary banners have been handed down from generation to generation. Today, our Party is the guardian of these banners and, with them, of our Homeland's best revolutionary traditions, heroic history and most radiant ideals.



To the delegation of the Italian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Alessandro Natta.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan, headed by Comrade Satomi Itakamada.

To the delegation of the Jordanian Communist Party.

To the delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party, headed by Comrade Nicolas Chaoui.

To the delegation of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, headed by Comrade Ali Yata.

To the delegation of the Martinique Communist Party, headed by Comrade Georges Gratian.

To the delegation of the Mexican Communist Party, headed by Comrade Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo.

To the delegation of the South-West Africa People's Organization, headed by Comrade Peter Nanyemba.

To the delegation of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, headed by Comrade Luis Domingo Sánchez.

To the delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, headed by Comrade A. Aziz Abdul Rahman.

To the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Comrade Abdel Aziz Alwagh.

To the delegation of the People's Party of Panama, headed by Comrade Rubén Souza.

To the delegation of the Paraguayan Communist Party, headed by Comrade E. Marín.

To the delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Jorge del Prado.

To the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, headed by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal.

To the delegation of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, headed by Comrade Franklyn Irizarry.

To the delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, headed by Comrade Juan Mari Bras.

To the delegation of the All People's Congress of Sierra Leone, headed by Comrade D. T. Akibo Betts.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Syria, headed by Comrade Ramo Shejo.

To the delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria, headed by Comrade Abdallah Al-Ahmar.

To the delegation of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (Somalia), headed by Comrade Ismail Ali Abukar.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, headed by Comrade S. A. Wickremasinghe.

To the delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa, headed by Comrade Alfred Nzo.

To the delegation of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden, headed by Comrade Bertil Måbrink.

To the delegation of the Swiss Party of Labor, headed by Comrade Jean Vincent.

To the delegation of the Tanganyika African National Union, headed by Comrade Ngombani Ntulo.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Uruguay, headed by Comrade Rodney Arismendi.

To the delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela, headed by Comrade Jesús Faría.

To the delegation of the United Political Organization of the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, headed by Comrade Abdel Fattah Ismail.

To the delegation of the United National Independence Party of Zambia, headed by Comrade Reuben C. Kamanga.

Present here as observers are:

The delegation of the People's National Party of Jamaica, headed by Comrade Donald Duncan.

The delegation of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Sweden, headed by Comrade Rolf Alsing.

We thank you all for having accepted our invitation, so providing us with the opportunity of counting on the solidarity of your presence at this most important and responsible moment for our Party and our people.

It is of singular importance and political interest within the framework of Latin America and of the world revolutionary movement that this Party, the leader of a socialist Revolution in a country on the continent of America, is now holding its first Congress. Proof of the high esteem that the revolutionaries of the whole world have for our people, for the political process in this country and for its vanguard Party comes from the numerous and representative delegations which the fraternal Communist Parties and other outstanding revolutionary organizations from all the continents have sent to this Congress.

We salute all of them with feelings of fraternal affection. For this honor, which goes beyond the merits of our modest contribution to the world revolutionary movement, we are profoundly grateful. It is a great incentive which will fortify us in our revolutionary commitment. We do not for a moment forget that without international solidarity, without the support given to our working people's resolute struggle by their class brothers of the whole world, and especially by the great people of the Soviet Union, in the face of a powerful, ruthless and aggressive imperialism, which has been virtual master of the destinies of the peoples of this hemisphere, the Cuban revolutionaries could have died heroically, like the Communards of Paris, but could not have won.

It is impossible to start this Congress or to understand its profound significance without a look at our history.

### I. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE REVOLUTION

Cuba was Spain's last colony in Latin America, and is now the first socialist country in this hemisphere. In order to accomplish this unique historical mission, our country had to overcome obstacles which at times appeared to be insurmountable.



Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary  
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba,  
on the rostrum

When in the early years of the last century, the great majority of Spanish-speaking peoples took the path of emancipation from the colonial yoke, in the favorable circumstances created by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, Cuba was a country of tropical plantations worked by slave labor. It was then a typically slave-holding society. In defiance of the international agreements of the day, the number of slaves increased from year to year with the growth of the material wealth and prosperity of the ruling classes. Both commerce and administration were dominated by the Spaniards; rich Cubans owned the plantations. This social class, while having an interest in overcoming the colonial obstacles which hindered economic development and its access to political power, could not do without the military force of the metropolis in order to keep the slaves in submission. It feared a repetition in Cuba of Haiti's heroic history, and did not hesitate to subordinate the question of national independence to its interests as a slave-owning class. In 1841, those who were subjected to this terrible form of exploitation numbered more than 400,000 in a population of just over one million. That is why, although the Spanish monarchy came to regard this country as the "always loyal Island of Cuba", this class interest also generated, within a section of the rich Cubans, the baneful trend toward annexation by the United States, because, among other reasons, they feared that Spain itself would give in to international pressures and abolish slavery. This trend was strongly supported by the Southern slave-holding states of the USA in their conflict of interests with the industrial states of the North, and in their hope of having another slave-holding state on the Island of Cuba.

The urge to annex Cuba had been always strong among the leaders of the United States since the very beginnings of that Republic and was voiced on many occasions by its various rulers and public figures as a logical expression of the principles of the

"manifest destiny" which the United States believed it was called upon to realize in this hemisphere. This trend continued for years after the abolition of slavery in that country and throughout the history of the relations between the United States and Cuba. But the Civil War in the United States and the subsequent abolition of slavery under the Lincoln Administration dealt a heavy blow at the annexationist movement of the Cuban slave-holders. It is worthwhile to recall that in the face of these mean and anti-patriotic aspirations of the exploiters, the exploited, that is, the slaves, gave innumerable examples of social and revolutionary struggle as expressed in the many heroic uprisings which were suppressed, as they always are, in the most brutal and bloodthirsty manner.

Once the annexationist trend was eclipsed and the Cuban landowners were themselves convinced that the slave-holding system had to be replaced by other, more modern forms of agricultural and industrial production, strong demands were heard for a reform of the Spanish colonial system, which had already become an insurmountable obstacle to the country's further development, demands which, by being brutally denied, forced our people into armed struggle.

The first war for independence in 1868, even though started and led by Cuban patriots from wealthy families with the political experience, the contacts and the economic resources for such an undertaking, did not, nevertheless, break out or reach explosive or massive force in the provinces where the slave-holding class had the deepest roots, where it was most powerful, and where it had the greatest interests, that is, the Western part of Cuba, but only in the regions and provinces with a larger number of independent peasants where slave labor was of relatively lesser economic importance.

The war involved peasants, craftsmen and slaves, and aroused fervent patriotism among students, professionals and intellectuals, and the Cuban people at

large, whose national feelings became a concrete and irreversible reality in the pitch of the struggle against Spanish domination.

Although Spanish repression affected all Cubans equally, regardless of their social class, the West—where the wealth of the slave-holding class was concentrated—kept aloof from the war and supplied the colonial army with its resources. The brunt of the war was borne by the poorest sections of the people, who in unequal and incomparably heroic struggle carried on the fight for ten years before being defeated by divisions and intrigues rather than by enemy arms. It was then that Antonio Maceo, a man who came from the poorest sections, rejected the cease-fire and peace without independence and issued his immortal *Protesta de Baraguá* to become the symbol of our people's spirit and indomitable will to fight on.

Shortly after, in 1886, slavery was abolished as an inevitable sequel to the Ten Year War, among other reasons. Thus, this was the last country in the hemisphere where the baneful institution was officially suppressed. Men and women who experienced slavery on their own skins are still alive in this country.

In 1895, the Cubans were again up in arms. This time the struggle had been politically prepared over a period of years. Under the leadership of Martí, whose political genius went beyond the boundaries of his country and his epoch, a party was organized to lead the revolution. This idea, which Lenin simultaneously advanced to carry out the socialist revolution in the old empire of the czars, is one of Martí's most admirable contributions to political thought. A single revolutionary party was set up in our country. It brought together the glorious veterans of the Ten Year War, symbolized by Gómez and Maceo, with new generations of peasants, workers, artisans and intellectuals, in order to carry out the revolution in Cuba. Martí came to know the monster because he lived in its entrails. He knew of its old urges to take possession

of Cuba by means of the expansionist policy of "manifest destiny" now supplemented with the new imperial tendency resulting from capitalist development in the United States, a tendency that Martí discerned with amazing clarity: "As it is, I am in daily danger of giving my life for my country and my duty—because I am fully aware of it and am fully determined to do so—is to prevent in time, through Cuba's independence, the United States from expanding via the Antilles and pouncing with that additional strength on our lands of America. Everything that I have done up to now and will do in the future will be done for this purpose. It has to be done in silence and as though indirectly, because there are things that, to be attained, have to be concealed and that, if proclaimed for what they are, could raise difficulties too unyielding to be finally surmounted." Martí said that just before he died while fighting alongside the men of the Liberation Army on the fields of Cuba. It is through this idea and Lenin's definition and interpretation of the Spanish-American war as the first imperialist war that two men from two distinct historical settings and two converging ideas—José Martí and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—clasp hands. The one is a symbol of national liberation from colonial domination and imperialism; the other, the architect of the first socialist revolution in the weakest link of the imperialist chain: national liberation and socialism, two closely interwoven streams in the modern world. Both with a solid and disciplined party to carry forward their revolutionary ideas, both founded almost simultaneously at the turn of the century.

Without resources, without supplies, without logistics, with a population of slightly over one and a half million, the people of Cuba fought against 300,000 colonial troops. At the time, Spain was one of the leading military powers of Europe. No other people of America had to carry on the struggle for independence in such arduous conditions. Cuba was the Viet Nam

of the end of the last century. The Cuban people carried on the struggle with their own forces, without the participation of any other Latin American state, and in the face of the active hostility of the US Government to the efforts of the Cuban emigrés seeking to supply arms to their fighting compatriots. Men of other fraternal peoples who came of their own free will to fight for our Homeland's freedom took an active part in the struggle for our independence. A symbol of all of them was Máximo Gómez, an outstanding representative of the Dominican people, who became Commander-in-Chief of our Army. On the fields of Cuba, these men inscribed brilliant pages of international solidarity into our country's history.

Spain was exhausted, without resources or energy to continue the war. The Spanish army controlled only the major towns. The revolutionaries dominated the whole countryside and the inland communications. Many famous Spanish generals were routed in the war. It was then, in 1898, that the United States launched its military intervention, but not before preliminary attempts, on the eve of hostilities, to buy the territory of Cuba from Spain. If Spain's stubbornness ever did render Cuba a kind of service, it was through its systematic refusals to agree to such a deal, which the United States had repeatedly proposed to Spain in the past century.

The imperialist war ended with the occupation of Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Cuba's struggle aroused broad sympathy throughout the world and also among the US people. Its heroic struggle commanded respect even among the ambitious foreign invaders, and the island could not immediately be annexed. On May 20, 1902, it was granted formal independence with US naval bases and an imposed constitutional amendment which, among other things, gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba. Thus, a Yankee neocolony was established in this country. The Philippines remained under occupation

right up to 1946. Today, it is an independent nation, but with 18 US bases on its territory. Puerto Rico remains occupied, with dozens of bases on its territory; the United States has been brazenly trying to integrate it with its territory as yet another state. It was a great, heroic and fortunate turn of history that spared our country and our people the terrible lot of being absorbed by the United States. This was essentially due to the firm resolve of its sons, and to the torrents of blood they shed to uphold their nationality.

One clear fact stands out in the history of our country in the past century and in the present, in the colonial and the neocolonial period, before and after the wars of independence. It is that the exploiting classes of our country and the United States were always an enormous obstacle to Cuba's liberation.

In 1902, the country simply had a change of master. The glorious Liberation Army was dissolved. Sell-out governments and plunderous economic treaties were imposed on this country. The occupation forces set up a mercenary army. The most rotten and reactionary sections of colonial society were advanced to the forefront by their close alliance with US interests. They were open advocates of Cuba's permanent occupation by the United States.

Cuba's first president, Tomás Estrada Palma, installed by imperialism, was an outspoken annexationist. In 1906, he called for a second intervention by the US armed forces. On October 10 of that year he wrote: "I have never been afraid to admit, and I have no fear of saying this openly, that a political dependence assuring us of the great blessings of liberty is a hundred times more preferable for our beloved Cuba than a sovereign and independent republic discredited and ruined by the pernicious action of constant civil wars."

US investments in Cuba, totalling 50 million dollars in 1896, went up to 160 million in 1906, to 205 mil-

lion in 1911, and 1,200 million in 1923, which included the ownership of three quarters of the sugar industry.

The corrupt governments and the repeated Yankee interventions in the first few decades of the neocolonialized republic did their job of handing over the country's wealth to foreign masters. The best farmland, the largest sugar mills, the mineral deposits, the basic industries, the railroads, the banks, the public services and foreign trade passed into the iron grip of US monopoly capital. The results of the heroic battles of 1868 and 1895 were thwarted. The valiant rebel people, which had amazed the world by its patriotic exploits, was forced to go on living as a pariah in its own land.

The peasants, most of whom had fought in the ranks of the Liberation Army, did not receive the land which they had abundantly drenched with their blood; instead, new latifundia appeared alongside the old ones, frequently consisting of the parcels of land that had once belonged to those who had fought or died for independence. At ridiculous prices, by means of fraud, evictions or simply concessions, Yankee enterprises or members of the oligarchy allied with imperialism took over vast tracts of land. That was the start of the tragic history of immense suffering, to which US domination subjected the peasants for over fifty years.

The economy grew deformed and absolutely dependent on US interests. This country was turned into a supplier of cheap sugar, a reliable reserve of supplies in the event of war and yet another market for US surplus financial resources, farm produce and manufactured goods.

The new plantations required cheap and abundant labor; the population was sparse and there was a shortage of hands. The importation of immigrants from Haiti and Jamaica was started. The inhuman conditions in which they lived, huddled in barracks and *bateyes*, with miserable wages, deprived of any medical

care, of the most elementary rights and of any protection against their exploiters constitute one of the most sorrowful and disgraceful pages in the history of capitalism in Cuba. Slavery, which had but recently—in 1886—been abolished, was being revived in new and even worse forms by the pseudo-republic.

In public administration the most incredible corruption became commonplace. Political factions in the service of foreign interests shared out the sinecures and administrative posts. The agents and political machines of the parties in power were supported by thousands of bogus payrolls. Funds earmarked for public works, public education, and public health were scandalously squandered. Poverty, illiteracy and disease were rife throughout the country. The agencies of repression brutally put down any expression of protest on the part of the workers, peasants or students. The *plan de machete*\* ruled all the sugar enterprises, *bateyes* and countryside. The whole apparatus of coercion, the Administration, the Parliament and the Judiciary operated for the sole purpose of serving the Yankee monopolists, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Prostitution and gambling flourished everywhere. With the US domination of Cuba, race discrimination, which should have been wiped out forever by the blood shed in common on the field of battle by a people who had so heroically fought for freedom and justice, became especially acute. In the parks of many cities, one could observe the disgraceful sight of Blacks and whites segregated in separate areas. Many educational, economic, cultural and recreational establishments were barred to Black citizens, who were denied the right to study, work and enjoy culture and, what is most important, human dignity.

Women, who had displayed incomparable proof of self-sacrifice and revolutionary capability in the struggle for independence, were compelled to live in

conditions of social and legal inferiority. There was no protection for motherhood, and children could be tagged with the humiliating label of being "natural" or "illegitimate".

Capitalist economic crises hit the country with devastating force, and in every case the USA made Cuba bear the worst effects. Our foreign policy was made in Washington. On the map of the world, Cuba was presented in the same color as the United States. Most US people would have been surprised to hear that we were not an official possession of the United States, the Yankee ambassadors, actual proconsuls, arrogantly issued orders to our rulers.

To all the vices Cuba inherited from the colonial period Yankee capitalism added its own, and with them its mental attitudes, its frenzied selfishness, its customs, its entertainments, its propaganda, its way of life, and—even worse—its reactionary political ideology. Complete master of the mass media, it made full use of them to distort and crush our national culture, suppress patriotic feelings, shape political thinking and promote a cult of the United States. Schoolchildren were told that the United States was a generous liberator of our Homeland. The heroic epoch was followed by humiliation and ignominy. What Martí had so yearned to avoid with his sustained teachings and brilliant foresight was exactly what happened in the years that followed our wars for independence.

It was this cruel reality that induced Martínez Villena to exclaim in his well-known and vibrant verse that there was need for yet another charge to carry the revolution to the end. But when Villena issued this call and, in addition, set a personal example of titanic struggle, Yankee imperialism was still too strong and the world revolutionary movement still too weak to enable the Cuban people to complete their endeavor of 1868.

The Platt Amendment, with its imposed constitutional clause giving the United States the legal

\* Forced labor.—Ed.



right to armed intervention in Cuba in the event of any breach of the established order, weighed heavily on the hearts of Cuban patriots. The revolutionary armed struggle could lead directly to military occupation by a nation much more powerful than Spain. Cuba was much too weak to resist such a power single-handed. The risk of losing all independence was bound to have a paralyzing effect on the revolutionaries' action. And while on more than one occasion political factions did resort to arms to settle their scores, thereby provoking Yankee intervention, this explains why there was no continuity in the revolutionary process in the early decades of the century.

Our struggle was inevitably losing its purely national character and possibilities, and was linking its fate with the world revolutionary movement. It was impossible for a small, weak, and isolated country alone to resist domination by the richest and most powerful imperialist power. At the same time, as capitalism developed and the working class emerged in the country, the content of our Revolution, which under the colonial system could not transcend the limits of a national liberation movement inspired by the liberal principles of the past century, had to move toward a social revolution. To the task of liberating the nation from imperialist domination was inevitably now added the task of purging our society of exploitation of man by man. By then, both objectives had become an integral part of our historical process, because the capitalist system, which oppressed us as a nation from outside, oppressed and exploited us as working people at home, while the social force capable of emancipating the country from internal oppression, that is, the working people themselves, was the only force capable of supporting us externally against the imperialist power oppressing our country. Awareness of this, we believe, was the supreme historical achievement of Baliño and Mella, who in 1925 with a handful of men founded the first Marxist-Leninist

party in Cuba. The glorious October Revolution of 1917, which inspired those valiant champions of the Socialist Revolution, was an event that was subsequently to play the decisive role in our country's destiny. Only with the invincible strength of the international working class was our small country able to counter the mortal danger which stemmed from the political, economic and military might of the United States, and only thanks to the strategy, principles and ideology of the working class, and with that class in the van, was our Revolution capable of advancing to the country's final national liberation and social emancipation.

In the 1930s, at the time of our people's heroic struggles against the Machado tyranny, our working class, led by the Communists, already played an outstanding role.

As a result of the world economic crisis, our people were hit by a terrible famine; a pound of sugar fetched a price of less than one centavo, and our weakened economy was being ruthlessly battered by US custom tariffs on our basic export product. There was an unwonted spread of social evils. In these conditions, political repression reached extreme intensity: workers, peasants, students, journalists and intellectuals prominent in the struggle were brutally assassinated by henchmen of the tyranny. Mella was cowardly shot down in Mexico City. This was a period of marked growth in the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. Anti-imperialist feelings acquired great force, and the whole system was in crisis.

The US Government intervened through so-called "mediation", deploying its battleships off the coast of Cuba. In August 1933, the Machado Government, unable to stand up to the pressure of the revolutionary general strike, fell. It was succeeded by an inept and motley government, a product of Yankee intervention.

Non-conformism, discontent, and revolutionary ideas spread to the barrack-rooms. On September 4,



the soldiers and sergeants rose up, in contact with the students and other revolutionary circles. A provisional revolutionary government with a nationalist orientation and appreciably influenced by the anti-imperialist wing, led by Antonio Guiteras, was formed. Along with certain progressive measures, a number of flagrantly inhuman steps were taken, such as the forcible repatriation of thousands of Haitian immigrants. Revolutionary soviets were set up at some of the sugar mills. All this was done despite the menacing presence of Yankee warships.

The country was going through a period of genuine revolutionary upsurge. But once again imperialism, without having to resort to direct military intervention, acting in league with the reactionary class and taking advantage of the ignominious treachery of Fulgencio Batista, a militaristic leader who had appeared on the scene on September 4, frustrated the revolutionary process and put it down with fire and sword. A revolutionary general strike was brutally suppressed in March 1935, and with the assassination of Antonio Guiteras, in May 1935, the last vestiges of armed resistance were eliminated.

Nevertheless, the heroic efforts of the 1930s had an extraordinary effect on life in this country. As a result of our people's energetic struggle in that period, the Platt Amendment was repealed, and while the United States in practice reserved the right to intervene in any Latin American republic, this ominous and humiliating clause was expunged from our Constitution.

There followed a period of uncertainty. The world economy was gradually recovering. The revolutionary tide was receding, and Batista was able to consolidate his rule for many years.

In the international plane, the dark clouds of fascism had been gathering since the 1920s, a consequence of the disastrous imperialist policy of suppressing the revolution in Europe, a policy of isolating,

attacking and destroying the first socialist state, founded by Lenin and the heroic Russian Communists.

Fascism was capitalism's ideological and political response to Leninism. It won out in Hungary, Italy and Germany, drowning the labor movements of those countries in a bloodbath; it spread wherever the exploited classes threatened the bourgeois domination.

The international revolutionary movement concentrated its efforts on fighting fascism. In 1936, a civil war broke out in Spain, where the enemies of the republic had mutinied with the backing of Hitler and Mussolini. The International Brigades went into action, their struggle inscribing one of the finest pages in the history of proletarian internationalism. Our people sent nearly a thousand combatants to Spain to fight fascism. We shall never forget that men of the caliber and human stature of Pablo de la Torriente Brau generously and without hesitation laid down their lives in that country. We believe that by inspiring this solidarity action, our first Communist Party made one of its noblest and most heroic contributions to the world revolutionary movement.

In Cuba, the revolutionary forces had been profoundly divided since 1933. Batista was astutely maneuvering. In the international atmosphere of the time, with its growing contradiction between US imperialism and Hitler Germany, with powerful anti-fascist feelings surging all over the world, and the Popular Front policy, he promoted tactical alliances with the Left and made certain political concessions to the labor unions. Still, the regime did not shed its distinctly militaristic, bourgeois, and pro-imperialist character.

The profoundly anti-communist spirit of the forces led by Grau, who headed an important sector of the opposition to the regime, impeded the establishment of unity among the popular forces and helped to create a chaotic political situation.

World War Two broke out in 1939. The bourgeois regimes in Europe, which were patronizing fascism's ambitions, were incapable of resisting Hitler's bestial hordes. Their morale undermined, they collapsed, their armies surrendered and almost the whole of Europe, with its enormous industrial and human potential, fell into the hands of the aggressors.

Then came the aggressive attack on the USSR; millions of soldiers were thrown into the onslaught. Fascism had always dreamed of wiping out the hallmark of the revolution in the world and obliterating the heroic people who had forged the first socialist state. That is how it planned to establish a millennium of domination. Thus began a struggle that was to be crucial for the destiny of mankind. But the Soviet people resisted, their soldiers fought heroically on every front. For the first time, fascism came up against unyielding opposition. At the cost of infinite sacrifice and the lives of twenty million sons, the Soviet people destroyed the aggressors, saving Lenin's Homeland and delivering Europe and the world from a terrible fate. The patriots of the occupied countries and the fighters of many nations likewise made a valuable contribution to the common victory.

The socialist camp emerged, dozens of countries were freed from colonialism and a broad road was opened up for the world revolutionary movement.

However, the world could not look to an era of peaceful cooperation. Imperialism was still very powerful and had not drawn the proper conclusions from Hitler's lesson. The United States, which ended the war with its industrial potential intact and its coffers filled with gold, became the stronghold of world reaction, taking over from fascism in its counter-revolutionary crusade and assuming the role of international gendarme. It put into effect a broad policy of establishing military alliances against the socialist camp, ringed the USSR with strategic bases, propped up the most reactionary governments everywhere, promoted

subversion against progressive countries, unleashed the arms race and inaugurated the disgraceful cold war period. This imperialist policy was most pronounced in Cuba, where the Communists had considerably increased their ranks and were guiding a powerful labor movement.

A new Constitution was enacted in 1940, its text recording some of the victories scored in the 1930s and other additional demands of the popular movement, though many of its provisions remained a dead letter for lack of the supplementary laws which were never enacted. From then on, the political process followed something like a constitutional course.

In 1944, Batista's opponents won the elections, and Grau San Martín was elected president. This government, the product of an election won by a large majority, had aroused popular hopes but became one of the greatest frustrations for our people. Its policy soon became reactionary. From 1946 onwards, it set itself the task of wresting from the Communists the guidance of the labor-union movement. It used every means to this end. The entire State machine was placed at the disposal of a clique of corrupt leaders. When the fraudulent methods proved to be inadequate, they resorted to attacks on the labor unions and to brute force. This period coincided with the cold war. Anti-communism became unusually virulent. All the mass media were placed at the service of Yankee McCarthyism. Communists were fired from their jobs and harassed in every possible way. Parallel with this, an overt policy of catering for the employers' and imperialists' interests was conducted. At the public administration level, where tax collection increased as a result of the relatively high sugar prices, theft, corruption and embezzlement reached unprecedented proportions; new millionaires emerged overnight. The bourgeois press contributed to the prevailing confusion by its demagoguery and its exaltation of false political values. Anarchy, chaos and violence were rampant. At

the closing stage of this regime, the dedicated, militant and exemplary leader of the sugar workers, Jesús Menéndez, was treacherously assassinated. His funeral developed into an impressive popular manifestation.

In this period, a civilian political movement, led by Eduardo Chibás, came into being, capitalizing on the sense of national discontent and involving sizable masses of the young and other sections of the people.

The official candidate, Carlos Prío Socarrás, backed by all of the regime's resources, won the 1948 elections. His government continued the robberies and corrupt practices of the ruling clique. The policy of assaulting the labor unions continued. Many Communist leaders of the workers were murdered in cold blood. The anti-communist campaign attained extraordinary force. There was a plan to send troops to the Korean War, but this was thwarted by the people's resistance. Military pacts were signed with the United States. The sell-out to imperialism was complete.

The so-called *auténtico* governments reflected the deep crisis gripping our political institutions. Representative democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism were absolutely incapable of solving the country's grave problems and, on the contrary, aggravated them.

Chibás committed suicide on August 16, 1951. The political movement he founded enjoyed remarkable popular support, but in many parts of the country leadership was already in the hands of traditional politicians and landowners. Nevertheless, it had valuable elements of the people in its ranks, who later played an important role in the fight against Batista's tyranny. Its mass was potentially revolutionary, but it lacked proper leadership. With ample popular support, including that of the Communists, its victory in the 1952 elections was assured. This in itself could bring about no social changes in the country, but it did open up future possibilities for action by revolutionaries. In its ranks it had a large part of the people: the petty bourgeoisie and sections of the poor,

who--though many were influenced by incessant imperialist propaganda and even prejudiced against communism--were disgusted with the prevailing situation and subjected to oppression and exploitation, whose causes they did not yet completely understand, longed for radical changes in the life of the country. With the exception of the most conscious sections of the proletariat, that is, the Communists, and a part of the organized workers, our poor and exploited people, though discontent and determined to fight against the prevailing oppression, were not clearly conscious of the social roots of the drama that was being enacted. For a strategic solution of the problem, there was need to lead that great mass along the road of true Revolution, which certainly could not be constitutional. This was perfectly understood and envisaged by the group of men who later organized the armed insurrectional struggle.

The fatal military coup burst upon the scene on March 10, 1952. Batista, who had abandoned power in 1944 and had carried away with him tens of millions of pesos, had left the same mercenary army in the garrisons which had benefited from innumerable sinocures and had served him for eleven years. That was the Republic's army, founded by the Yankees during their first military occupation, that which had carried out numerous repressive measures against the people, that which the mutinous sergeants in 1933 had turned into a pliable tool of a military chief who had kept it in the unconditional service of US imperialist interests. It was the army that throughout the years had defended the big-time interests of imperialism and the national oligarchy in our fields, sugar mills and cities. This mercenary army had played a major role in the evictions of peasants, in the massacres of workers, in the prevailing atmosphere of terror in which the country had lived during the years of the imperialist oligarchic dictatorship, ever since the very beginnings of the Republic. The soldiers, sergeants and

officers made up the praetorian guard at the service of the big landowners and sugar mill and industrial owners. The interests of the US monopolies were naturally being protected above all else. This apparatus of terror in the hands of the oppressors was an enormous obstacle to the country's socio-political development. This army, trained and equipped by the USA, was a force that many considered invincible. Designed as an instrument for the people's repression, this army was completely incapable of safeguarding the country's sovereignty, but it was feared inside the country as the armed guardian of the established social system.

In the midst of the chaos, with the civilian governments discredited and morally corrupt, it proved easy for Batista, always quick to do Washington's bidding and desperately craving for power, to infiltrate through the Columbia Headquarters, to talk to his men and once again become the country's master with the all-round support of imperialism and the national oligarchy, who were worried by the nation's political development. The demoralized government of crooks fled the country without putting up any resistance, abandoning the people to their unhappy fate. Once again, tanks and bayonets became the arbiter of national policy.

The military coup and Batista's return to power were a profound humiliation for the people, wrested from their hands the June 1 political decision, cut short the constitutional course initiated in 1940, and aggravated the nation's ills. The people were totally unarmed in face of the developments. The clique of corrupt labor leaders of the overthrown government immediately sided with the winner, the bourgeois press supported the new government, and an unbridled repressive and violent regime was established in our Homeland.

The traditional parties and leaders were totally incapable of putting up any resistance to the reac-

tionary military dictatorship. In the meantime, the country's social problems were aggravated as a result of the growth of the population and the underdevelopment of an economy that had been stagnant for 30 years. The reserve labor army consisted of 600,000 unemployed, partly used in the sugar cane harvesting in a country where in the early decades of the century the cane was cut and the land cultivated largely by immigrant labor; tens of thousands of peasants paid rents or lived as sharecroppers on the lands claimed by the latifundists; the working class was ruthlessly exploited; illiteracy, insanitary conditions, misery, abuses, embezzlement, gambling, prostitution and vice were rife everywhere.

In these conditions, political life was dominated by bourgeois and pro-imperialist ideology. At the height of the cold war, anti-communism called the tune in all the mass media: the radio, television, the cinema, the newspapers, the magazines and the books.

Although there was a militant and dedicated contingent of Cuban Communists, the bourgeoisie and imperialism had managed to isolate them in the political arena. All the bourgeois parties, without exception, refused to have any sort of understanding with the Communists. Our national policy was totally dominated by imperialism. Such was the state of the country on the eve of July 26, 1953.

The true people—workers, peasants, students and the middle strata—lacked the weapons and resources to confront the tyranny; a way out had to be found. The army supplied and trained by the United States wielded all the power and was master of the situation. How could an unarmed people break up this ganglion of forces and establish its social and national rights for good, after there had been so many times frustrated throughout its history?

The political parties which had been ousted from power had millions of pesos in misappropriated money and some weapons, but lacked the morale and the will

to fight. The former opposition parties lacked the means, the leaders and the strategy to carry on a struggle. By itself, the Marxist-Leninist Party had neither the means, the strength, nor the required national and international conditions to stage an armed insurrection. In the conditions then prevailing in Cuba this would have amounted to futile self-immolation.

But no matter how complicated a social and political situation may appear to be, there is always a way out. When the objective conditions for revolution exist, certain subjective factors can play an important role in the events. That is just what happened in our country. Nor is it a personal achievement of the men who mapped out the revolutionary strategy that was ultimately victorious. They received the valuable experience of our past struggles in the military and political field; they were inspired by the heroic fight for our independence, a rich source of our people's militant traditions and love of freedom, and drew on the political thinking that guided the 1895 revolution and the revolutionary doctrine that nurtures the social liberation struggle in modern times. All of this made it possible for them to conceive action based on these solid pillars: the people, historical experience, the teachings of Martí, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and a correct evaluation of what could and should be done at that particular time under Cuba's specific conditions.

In practical terms, this meant that a way had to be found to fight a modern army. Some adopted as their banner the reactionary theory that a revolution could be carried out with the army or without the army, but never against the army; this would have surely paralyzed any revolutionary action in our country.

The idea of beginning the struggle in Oriente Province arose from the consideration of the militant traditions of its population, the terrain, the geography of the country, the distance from the capital and from the size of the repressive forces that would be forced

to travel over long distances; for all this the weapons had to be seized from the enemy's arsenals in that province. Military operations would have to be linked with an effort to rouse the people by staging a revolutionary general strike, but at that time it was necessary to envisage the possibility of a withdrawal into the mountains and the beginning of a war of insurgency, valuable experience in which abounds in the history of our independence struggles. That was the embryo of the idea that was in fact realized later on, starting from the Sierra Maestra. From the outset, their conceptions closely linked together the military action and the social and mass struggle.

The existing teachings and the lessons and the example of the Communists of the glorious days of Balbuena and Mella in the burning wake of the victorious October Revolution, had helped to spread Marxist-Leninist thought and make it an attractive and unique doctrine for many young people rising to political consciousness. Revolutionary books and literature again played a role in historical events. With time, the people themselves were to discover the profound truth of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Meanwhile, the task of the new revolutionary elements was to interpret and to apply it to our country's specific and concrete conditions. This was and had to be the task of new Communists, simply because they were not known as such and did not have to suffer in our society, infested with prejudice and imperialist police controls, the terrible isolation and seclusion forced upon the selfless revolutionary fighters of our first Communist Party. Even though this was not the way of thinking of all those who had embarked upon the road of revolutionary armed struggle in our country, it was that of its main leaders. In general, there was a blend of patriotic, democratic and progressive feelings among the members in its ranks, of true political purity, dedication and disinterestedness which are to be found only among workers who come

mainly from poor families and have a powerful awareness or instinct for political and social liberation. The few, who did not come from poor families, had acquired their political seasoning from study, vocation and a flair for revolution. But even for such seasoning the new leaders had to go through the experience of revolutionary life itself in order to gain depth in practicing what in theory they already held as firm political convictions. From all this originated the new revolutionary process. But in contrast to what unfortunately very often happens in other countries, the young combatants had a deep respect and admiration for the old Communists, who during heroic and difficult years had struggled for social change and had held aloft with unyielding firmness the noble banners of Marxism-Leninism. In most cases, they were their intellectual teachers, their guiding spirits and their models in the struggle. Even in the bourgeois environment of the University and other youth circles, Mella and Martínez Villena were universally admired, and the Communists were deeply respected for their dedication, integrity and devotion to the cause. That is a great lesson of our Revolution which is not taken into account by many abroad who are, nevertheless, sensitive to its purity and historical magnitude. History must be respected and recounted exactly as it occurred.

The assault on the Moncada Garrison did not mean the triumph of the Revolution at that time, but it did show the way and outlined a national liberation program, which would open the door to socialism for our Homeland. In history, tactical setbacks are not always synonymous of defeat. As those who had organized the assault themselves have said, victory in 1953 might have been much too early to counter the disadvantages of the world correlation of forces at that time. Yankee imperialism was extremely powerful, and if the Revolution had been forced to choose between surrender or annihilation, it would have un-

doubtedly preferred to perish rather than surrender. But the course of history in any country has to face these inevitable and at times tragic alternatives. What is important in certain circumstances in paving the way to the future is the indomitable will to fight and revolutionary action itself. Without Moncada there would have been no *Granma*, no struggle in the Sierra Macstra, and no Great Victory of January 1, 1959. Likewise, without the epic of 1868 and 1895, Cuba would not have been independent and the first socialist country in America, but would most surely have been just another state of the hateful Yankee imperialism. National feelings would have been suppressed forever, and we would not even be speaking Spanish in our beautiful land. Our independent, revolutionary and socialist Homeland is founded on the blood and sacrifice of its sons.

The Revolution in Cuba triumphed five years, five months and five days after the assault on Moncada. A very impressive record, if one bears in mind that its leaders were kept in prison for almost two years, remained in exile for more than 18 months, and spent 25 months in the front lines. In the course of those years, the world correlation of forces had changed sufficiently for the Cuban Revolution to survive.

Not only was there need for the most resolute action, but also for astuteness and flexibility on the part of the revolutionaries. At every stage, the objectives set forth and proclaimed were those which met the requirements of the day and for which the revolutionary movement and the people had matured. The proclamation of socialism during the period of insurrectional struggle would not have been understood by the people, and imperialism would have directly intervened in our country with its troops. At that time, the overthrow of Batista's bloody tyranny and the Moncada Program united the entire people. When subsequently the vigorous and victorious revolution did not hesitate to advance, some said it had been

betrayed, failing to realize that to stop the revolution mid-way would indeed have amounted to betrayal. To have shed the blood of thousands of the humble people's sons to maintain bourgeois and imperialist domination and man's exploitation of man would have amounted to a most insulting betrayal of the fallen and of all those who since 1868 had fought for the future, for justice and the progress of the Homeland.

The Revolution never halted in face of any reverses. Moncada and Alegría de Pío, two bitter defeats, did not impede the further course of the struggle. The struggle was resumed in the Sierra Maestra with seven guns; within two years the tyranny's supposedly invincible army had been wiped out, and the victorious people were in possession of the 80,000 rifles once pointed at the nation. The war itself was an encouraging example of what a people's tenacity and revolutionary will could achieve. At the final stage of the struggle, the revolutionary armed combatants numbered just over 3,000 men. The arms were seized from the enemy in combat. In our last war of independence, there were no supplies from abroad either. Our workers and peasants, organized in the Rebel Army, with the support of the middle classes, overthrew the tyranny, destroyed the armed machine of oppression and achieved full independence for the Homeland. The revolutionary general strike staged by the working class was a decisive contribution to the final battle. This brilliant feat of our Revolution is, as a fact, almost unknown abroad. Something has been published about it in an anecdotal and sporadic manner, but its systematic and documented history has still to be written.

All the eleventh-hour maneuvers by imperialism—military coup, provisional government, etc.—were thwarted. Imperialism had now to cope with a Latin American nation without a repressive army and with an armed people. This was the significance of January 1, 1959. Ninety-two years after the *Grito de la Dema-*

*jagua*, Cuba was finally full master of its future, and the banners of the Moncada heroic dead fluttered victoriously in our Homeland.

This was not only the work of the July 26 Movement. The Marxist-Leninist Party, which had brought together the best men of our working class, paid a high price in blood sacrificing the lives of many of its sons. The *Directorio Revolucionario* combatants have to their credit a great many heroic exploits, like the attack on the Presidential Palace on March 13, 1957, and active participation in the insurrectional struggle. Those are the origins of our glorious Communist Party.

On January 1, 1959, upon entering the city of Santiago de Cuba, we declared: "At last we have reached Santiago! The way has been long and hard, but we have made it. This time the Revolution will not be frustrated. This time, fortunately for Cuba, the Revolution will attain its goals; it will not be as it was in 1895, when the Americans came and became the masters of the country; they intervened at the last moment and even Calixto García, who had fought for 30 years, was prevented from entering Santiago de Cuba; it will not be as it was in 1933, when, just as the people began to believe that the Revolution was being made, Mister Batista arrived on the scene, betrayed the Revolution, installed himself in power and established a ferocious dictatorship; it will not be as it was in 1944, the year in which the multitudes were induced to believe that at last the people had risen to power, whereas those who had actually taken over were the thieves. Neither thieves, traitors, nor interventionists: this time it is a Revolution!"

But we were also aware of the difficulties, and on entering the capital of the Republic on January 8, 1959, we said: "We are at a decisive moment in our history. The tyranny has been defeated. The joy is immense. And yet much remains to be done. We do not deceive ourselves into believing that from here on



everything will be easy. Perhaps from here on everything will be more difficult."

We knew that an entirely new stage in our country's history was beginning, that the road would be long and hard, but that we would march forward in close alliance with the people. The time had come to fulfil the promises of Moncada.

One of the first measures of the Revolution was to mete out exemplary punishment to the chief culprits responsible for the crimes committed by the Batista tyranny. The torturers and murderers, the executioners of countless compatriots throughout our history had never been brought to book for their misdeeds. This elementary act of justice, unanimously demanded by our people, sparked off a fierce campaign in the imperialist press against the Revolution. However, dozens of criminals, responsible for the assassination of thousands of Cubans, found refuge and received shelter and asylum in the United States.

Similarly, all the ill-gotten wealth of the officials of the bloody regime was immediately confiscated. This also occurred for the first time in our history.

The old army, which had cruelly oppressed the people, was totally disbanded, and the function was assumed by the Armed Forces of the glorious Rebel Army, which, as Camilo said: "was the people in uniform".

Public Administration was purged of the elements that had been accomplices of the tyranny.

Embezzlement of public funds, sinecures and the malpractice of receiving pay without doing any work were immediately eradicated.

Political parties which had served the oppression were dissolved.

The corrupt and sell-out leadership of the labor unions was swept away and the rights of the working people were re-established.

Workers dismissed during the tyranny were reinstated in their jobs. The eviction of peasants was stopped at once.

On March 3, 1959, the decision was taken to intervene in the Cuban Telephone Company, a Yankee monopoly which had been involved with the tyranny in dirty dealings against the people's interests.

On March 6, a law was enacted to reduce the onerous rents paid by the people by 50 per cent, a measure which aroused great enthusiasm among the urban population and came as a real shock to the bourgeoisie.

On April 24, all the country's beaches were declared open for public use, so eliminating the exclusiveness and the odious discrimination practiced by the bourgeoisie in many of these centers.

On May 17, the first Agrarian Reform Law was enacted. This resolute, necessary and just step led us into direct confrontation not only with the national oligarchy but also with imperialism, since many US enterprises owned sizable tracts of the most fertile land in the country, mainly planted to sugar cane. Although the established ceiling of 30 *caballerías*, equivalent to 402 hectares, was still relatively high, some US enterprises owned as much as 17,000 *caballerías* i.e., 227,000 hectares, and with these the law dealt most radically.

On August 20, 1959, electricity charges were reduced, and this put an end to the abuses of another powerful imperialist monopoly.

Apart from the above-mentioned measures taken in the short period of a few months, the Revolution took steps from the outset to combat the terrible scourge of unemployment and gave special attention to the drive to improve the terrible state of education and public health. Thousands of teachers were sent to the rural areas, and construction was started on many hospitals in the remotest areas of our countryside.

Gambling, drug-peddling and smuggling were eradicated, and this was later followed by the necessary measures to do away with prostitution, once the humiliating lot of so many poor women, by way of



humane and just measures that included education and employment for tens of thousands of its victims.

In a relatively short period, work was successfully started to wipe out the slum areas, which are so widespread in the big cities of Latin America.

Begging gradually disappeared, and abandoned and barefooted children begging in the streets were a sight no longer to be seen.

However, the country's economy was in dire straits: sugar prices were depressed and the country's foreign exchange reserves had been plundered by the tyranny.

Since this program of achievements was followed by growing hostility on the part of US imperialism, US commercial credits were cut off and imports the country needed were markedly affected. The Revolution was forced to adopt harsh austerity measures, but it did not do this at the expense of the poor sections of the people, as is the usual practice in the capitalist world. Imports of superfluous products were stopped and egalitarian distribution of essentials was established as undoubtedly one of the most just, radical and necessary measures taken by the Revolution, which would have to face a desperate struggle for survival in the future.

But imperialism was not disposed quietly to allow the development of a Revolution in Cuba. Since imperialist plans to prevent its triumph by means of a military coup at the end of the war had failed, and since the people were victorious and armed, imperialism fell back on diplomatic formulas; it recognized the Revolutionary Government, sent its ambassador, who was received with an extraordinary display of publicity by the bourgeois press and who, in order to pressure, curb and tame the Revolution, assumed the customary attitude of proconsul so characteristic of Yankee officials in Cuba. However, these efforts were in vain. For the first time, they found in Cuba a people in arms and a Revolutionary Government in power. There was no mercenary army to fall back on to im-

pose their orders or to protect their interests. In the early months of the Revolution, the US military mission, which had trained Batista's army and still attempted to stay on, was dispatched without protocol.

It was an entirely new situation. However, imperialism still had powerful resources in our country. The monopoly enterprises, landowners and bourgeois were the nation's owners. In addition to the economy, all the mass media were under their control, and our society was infected with reactionary ideology. Many of our citizens, including people of humble origin and condition, feared the word socialism and were even terrified by the word communism. This was the sequel to decades of perfidious and slandering propaganda against revolutionary ideas. Lacking any basic idea of the social roots of the nation's problems and of the objective laws governing the development of human society, a sizable part of our people were victims of confusion and deceit. Rather than political ideas, the exploiters had managed to instill truly reactionary attitudes in many minds. The presence of a relatively large petty-bourgeois stratum in our society, together with cultural backwardness and illiteracy, paved the way for the political work of imperialism and the ruling classes. A US colony economically, we were one also ideologically. An old social order is not maintained merely by force of arms, the power of the State or the economic omnipotence of its privileged classes, but also, and to a greater extent, by the spread of reactionary ideas and political bias among the masses. This factor is most pronounced in the epoch of socialist revolutions, which work the most profound and radical change in the life of mankind. Consequently, every social change entails the eradication of the old political culture and the victory of new ideas. In our country, ideas fought their battles alongside the events. Indeed, the people acquired socialist consciousness through the development of the Revolution and the violent class struggle unleashed both on the national

and the international level. The clash between the interests of the people and of their oppressors gave rise to the Revolution, and the Revolution raised this conflict of interest to its highest level. This struggle greatly developed the consciousness of the masses. Within a few months, the Revolution made them see that which only a minority had come to realize in the decades of ruthless imperialist-bourgeois exploitation and domination.

In the early months of the Revolution, imperialism and reaction—resorting to all the classical methods—launched a fierce anti-communist campaign backed by all the mass media, which were still in their hands. The weapon of anti-communism was used to the hilt to confuse the masses when they were still politically weak; with this they hoped to divide the people, the revolutionary organizations and the Rebel Army itself, to weaken the support to the government and encourage reactionary tendencies. But the people's confidence in the Revolution, the political authority of its leaders, the firm spirit of revolutionary unity and, above all, the undeniably just facts and measures of the Revolution were factors that were a tremendous help in defeating this dangerous move, which, if successful, would have put paid to the revolutionary process.

Now, in the conditions of a country such as Cuba, could the Revolution have confined itself to the simple objective of national liberation, preserving the capitalist regime of exploitation, or should it also have advanced toward final social liberation?

Imperialism could not tolerate even a national liberation revolution in Cuba. As soon as the Agrarian Reform Law was enacted, the United States began to take the first steps in mounting a military operation against Cuba; it was even less prepared to tolerate socialism in our country. The mere idea of what the example of a victorious Cuban Revolution would mean for Latin America terrified Yankee ruling circles, but

the Cuban nation had no alternative, the people were neither willing nor able to stop. Our national liberation and social emancipation were indissolubly linked, to advance was a historical necessity, to stop was cowardice and treachery that would have again turned us into a Yankee colony and slaves of the exploiters. Naturally, the conditions for our country's final national liberation and social emancipation were provided by the new correlation of forces in the world, but at that time more than a cool analysis of all the possibilities, the decision to be free at any price, even that of national destruction, prevailed in the feelings of the people and its leaders. We believe that this factor was fundamental; without it all the cooperation and international solidarity we later enjoyed would have been futile.

History runs according to objective laws, but it is men that make history, that is to say, they advance or delay it considerably, to the extent that they do or do not act according to these laws. The United States used every means to crush the Cuban Revolution, but the only thing the US action achieved was to accelerate the revolutionary process. Imperialist action and revolutionary response were indissolubly linked with developments. Our people has emerged victorious from this epic test replete with mortal dangers, but the struggle has not been easy in any sense. On every occasion, the active mobilization of the masses and political education accompanied the revolutionary process. Whenever necessary, we did not hesitate to nationalize the mass media, wresting them from reaction and imperialism to put them at the service of the people and its heroic cause.

The landowners and the national bourgeoisie put all their trust in the United States; it can be said that imperialism brazenly directed the internal counter-revolution. But it did not confine itself to the initial diplomatic moves and ideological campaigns, and gradually resorted to the whole arsenal of counter-

revolutionary measures. Owner and master of Latin America, it quickly mobilized its ministry of the colonies in this hemisphere—the Organization of American States—to isolate Cuba and attack her politically, economically and militarily.

When the United States realized that the Revolution would neither retreat nor yield to its pressures, it launched upon a succession of economic acts of aggression, while recruiting mercenaries and training them for sabotage and military action. In our case, the economic aggressions whetted the appetites of the corrupt oligarchies that governed in Latin America. For almost a century, a market was being created in the United States for our sugar. We had been that country's suppliers since the colonial period. During the world wars, the US people were assured of a steady supply of Cuban sugar at low prices. Furthermore, it was the only item of our economy with some development on which the bare subsistence of millions of Cubans depended, because the workers hardly enjoyed the fruits of their labor, since the lion's share invariably went to the bourgeois oligarchs and foreign monopolists, both in the period of slavery and, later, under the wage-labor formation.

Since a policy of social justice could not be permitted in our country, imperialism, grossly ignoring Cuba's historical rights, set out to buy, with our sugar quota in the US market, the shameless conscience of other Latin American governments. This was part of the price for the disgraceful complicity of the Latin American oligarchies in allying themselves with the imperialist aggression against Cuba, aside from the fact that they were impelled along this road by a basic class spirit and their historical submission to the United States. There was much repugnant interest, and turbid and rotten egoism in the cynical history of the OAS in regard to Cuba. At the heart of it all was sugar and other sordid material interests camouflaged with anti-communist attitudes and postures struck up by

strumpets disguised as vestal virgins. In consequence, Cuban sugar quotas were criminally cut off and shared out among other countries. This, in itself, would have sufficed to strangle any nation's economy.

But these were not the only means open to the United States. Most of our scarce industrial centers were equipped with that country's machinery; the electric power industry, the oil refineries, the mines, the textile mills, the food industry, etc.; the same applied to other mechanical means of production and transport.

The United States totally cut off its exports of spare parts to Cuba not only from its domestic industry, but also from its numerous subsidiaries all over the world. This blow would also have been crushing to any economy.

The third criminal blow in the economic field was the cutting-off of fuel deliveries. The United States had been the supplier of this basic product through its monopoly enterprises, which controlled virtually all of the world's supply and owned the refineries in Cuba.

To all these measures was finally added the ban on any trade with our country, including foodstuffs and medicines. These supplies had always arrived mainly from the United States, due to the trade treaties imposed upon us at the beginning of the century. Indeed, there had been no wholesale warehouses in Cuba. They had been mainly in that country, where orders were filled at short notice. In addition, there was the fact that most of the economies of the Western countries were dependent on the United States and the measures of the economic blockade were complied with not only by the Yankee subsidiaries, but also by the governments of those countries.

No Latin American people ever sustained such brutal blows to its means of subsistence.

But US aggression was by no means confined to the economic field. The doors of that country, which had

once been open to a very small group of citizens, were now thrown wide open to anyone wishing to leave Cuba. Landowners, bourgeois, politicians, henchmen, pimps, peddlers of vice and even lumpen proletarians took advantage of the opportunity. One of the main objectives of that policy, apart from the cynical campaigns against the Revolution, disguised as ridiculous humanitarianism and the recruiting of mercenaries for future aggression, was to deprive the country of its professionals and technicians, many of whom had been at the service of the bourgeoisie, obviously had a petty-bourgeois mentality and were afraid of the revolutionary changes. In this way, they wrung from the country thousands of doctors, a great many engineers, architects, professors, teachers, laboratory and various other kinds of technicians. This act of plunder even included skilled personnel from industries and important production centers, some of whom had enjoyed the privileges of the so-called workers' aristocracy.

That was the last annexationist movement staged by the reactionary classes in Cuba, except that in that case, upon fulfilling their dreams, it was themselves and not the Homeland that they annexed to the empire.

Although this offered the option of staying in an underdeveloped country with a much lower income per head than in the United States or leaving for a more industrialized country with the highest living standard in the world, the Revolution was not interested in keeping anyone in Cuba against his will. The challenge was accepted. We firmly believed that socialist construction was the task of revolutionary and patriotic men and women, and undertook the task of training new generations of technicians really worthy of their historic mission.

From the Yankee standpoint, the ignorant masses of the dispossessed were bound to fail when faced with the problem of running a country.

Our admirable people survived and triumphed. Today there are a great many of those who regret their

decision of having chosen the country of selfishness and inhumanity to live in.

Through the Central Intelligence Agency and with the support of the reactionary classes, imperialism likewise undertook the task of organizing numerous counter-revolutionary groups to carry on subversion and sabotage.

And if all these efforts failed, imperialism planned counter-revolutionary and armed violence as the final blow. Through pseudo-revolutionary elements, former agents of the tyranny and enemies of every stripe, it organized and supplied economic resources and equipment to numerous counter-revolutionary armed bands operating in the mountains of Escambray. Seeking to imitate the counter-revolutionary actions of the aristocracy and reactionary clergy in France after 1789, imperialism sought to establish in Escambray a sort of Vendée against the Revolution, in spite of the fact that the majority of the peasants and agricultural workers in the region were firmly allied with the people's cause. These armed bands were later organized in every province, even in Havana. The United States openly supplied them by air and sea. They committed numerous and abominable crimes against our teachers, students involved in the Literacy Campaign, against militant revolutionaries, workers, peasants and administrators of the people's economy. The struggle against these groups led to the loss of many sons of the people and cost our economy hundreds of millions of pesos.<sup>3</sup>

In the cities, sabotage against production centers led our working people to shed their precious blood.

The mercenary expedition to Playa Girón was being simultaneously organized. Guatemala and other Latin American countries impudently lent their territories for the preparation of these aggressive acts. The aircraft that attacked our air bases at dawn on April 15, 1961 bore the emblems of our Air Force. Several of these later landed on US territory, while the US delegate

at the United Nations calmly and cynically claimed that they were Cuban planes whose pilots had rebelled against the regime. Two days later, a mercenary force equipped with the most modern weapons landed at the Bay of Pigs to invade the country. The obvious objective was to occupy part of Cuba's territory, set up a provisional government and call on the OAS, that is to say, the United States, to intervene.

Our people's crushing response defeated the mercenary army in less than 72 hours and frustrated the carefully elaborated plans of the CIA and the Pentagon.

Militarily, there was but one alternative for the United States: direct invasion of Cuba. To do in our country what they later did in Viet Nam. The firm conviction that Yankee imperialism would at some time and on some pretext send its military forces into a direct attack on Cuba, and our belief that the measures proposed to prevent this would strengthen the whole socialist camp, were behind our decision to sign the Cuban-Soviet Agreement on siting nuclear arms on our territory, which later brought about the October Crisis.

The United States would not resign itself to our country's sovereign right to decide for itself on its international relations and adopt the pertinent measures for its defense. This posed a grave threat to world peace. Fortunately for mankind, war was averted. But the US Government had the chance to ascertain that its preposterous, abusive and adventurous aggression against a small and unflinching country might lead to disaster, and that the growing strength and solidarity of the revolutionary camp was an insurmountable obstacle to its imperial omnipotence. As part of the settlement, it was forced to commit itself not to invade Cuba. At that time, it was hard for the Cubans to understand that formula for what it was worth; today, 13 years later, we find objectively that the October Crisis of 1962 meant a victory for the revolutionary

camp. The USSR is now even mightier, the correlation of forces has changed considerably in favor of the revolutionary forces, and the United States could not avoid fulfilling its commitment.

In view of the terrible alternative of war, the victory consisted in preserving peace at one of the most dangerous moments, without sacrificing any fundamental political objectives. The apparent success of imperialism has burst like a bubble. Following that chilling test, even the cold war began to recede.

Later, however, the US Government established military bases in Central America and Florida for piratical raids on our coasts, many of which were carried out as the last blows of a wounded but impotent imperial pride. The subsequent US compromise in Viet Nam and the heroic resistance of that brother-people ended in the gradual scaling down of military actions against Cuba, and our people began to enjoy a period of relative peace.

For those who wonder how it is possible that Cuba, 90 miles away from the USA, has escaped a devastating war like that waged in Viet Nam at a distance of 20,000 kilometres, a thorough explanation is provided by the facts set out above.

In general outline: the USA thought that the war of liberation was merely an internal problem, that Batista's army would crush the fighters with the help of the Yankee advisers. Even then it never suspected their revolutionary potentialities. When it schemed to replace Batista and prevent a revolutionary victory, believing there was plenty of time, the sweeping offensive of the Rebel Army late in 1958 took it by surprise.

By January 1, 1959, there was no longer any mercenary army in Cuba. Diplomatic offensives, political pressures, and the brutal economic aggression, which came afterwards, failed likewise. Subversion, armed counter-revolutionary hands, the Playa Girón attack, the crushing of the invasion before the OAS had time

to intervene, and the liquidation of the armed bands. Finally, there were the obvious attempts to invade Cuba: the October Crisis and the commitment not to carry out a direct military attack against our Homeland.

Each of the drastic steps which imperialism took or tried to take came too late and were, in every case, an underestimation of the Cuban people, its capacity to resist and its combat spirit.

That is how our people, with its firmness and heroic determination, supported by international revolutionary solidarity, escaped the dangers which would have cost the lives of millions of its sons and brought immense material destruction.

It should be added that for many years the Central Intelligence Agency organized dozens of attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Cuban Revolution. The most sophisticated weapons, such as poisons capable of killing off the population of whole cities, guns fitted with silencers and microscopic poisoned bullets, leaving virtually no trace on the skin, fountain-pens equipped with tiny needles, which could be used without the victim's awareness to inoculate terrible toxic substances with delaying effect and killing without the possibility of diagnosis of the causes of death, were within the CIA's arsenal of resources for these purposes, apart from the rifles with telescopic sights, bazookas, recoilless guns, machine guns, explosives and various other more conventional means, which on so many occasions they supplied to their agents to carry out these attempts. Well-known Mafia members were also recruited for these purposes. Today, part of this horrifying page of official terrorism has become known through a US Senate committee's own confession. Never in the history of international relations have such practices been systematized, which in this case were carried out by a powerful and modern state against the leaders of another country. This fact is in itself of unique significance. Not a single voice, nevertheless, has

been raised in the OAS concert to denounce such criminal practices, and that was the infamous institution which, declaring Marxism-Leninism to be incompatible with the system, expelled us from its ranks and, invoking subversion, years later condemned us to brutal measures of economic blockade and political isolation.

The security organisms of the revolutionary State, with the efficient assistance of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and of the entire people, smashed these plans of the CIA, and this was undoubtedly yet another brilliant victory for the Revolution.

Our people vigorously repelled each aggression of imperialism. On October 26, 1959, the National Revolutionary Militia was formed.

[On March 5, 1960, the slogan of *Patria o Muerte*\* was first proclaimed at the funeral of the martyrs of *La Coubre*.

On May 8 of that same year, diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were re-established.

On August 6, the oil refineries, the electric power and telephone enterprises and 36 sugar mills, all US owned, were nationalized.

On September 2, the First Declaration of Havana was adopted.

On September 28, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution were set up at a mass rally to the echoes of counter-revolutionary bomb explosions.

On October 13 of that same year, all the banks and 383 big economic enterprises were nationalized.

A day later, on October 14, the Urban Reform Law was enacted.

Essentially, the Moncada Program had been fulfilled, and the Cuban Revolution moved into its socialist

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\* Homeland or death.—Ed.

stage in the midst of the epoch-making anti-imperialist struggle.

When, in April 1961, the planes bombed our airports and the mercenaries invaded Playa Girón, 100,000 young Cubans and tens of thousands of teachers were in the countryside carrying out the Literacy Campaign in the most gigantic effort ever undertaken by any country in this field. Within only one year, Cuba became the nation with the lowest illiteracy rate in Latin America. The Cuban people was able to wage simultaneous battles in various fields. Here arms in hand, there books in hand, others at the work centers and factories, those who remained fulfilled the production quotas of those who had gone off to the front. The sugar crop was also being harvested in April. None of the basic activities was paralyzed.

The State, the Armed Forces and the mass organizations did not have their present level of development and organization. Revolutionary organizations had not yet merged into one party, but there was close cooperation among the leadership of the July 26 Movement, the People's Socialist Party and the *Directorio Revolucionario*, contacts were frequent and fundamental decisions were supported by everyone. Since no process like this ever develops idyllically, contradictions did arise now and again, but the spirit of unity, the sense of historical responsibility and the common objectives always prevailed over sectarian attitudes, which in one way or another affected us all. Other organizations with vacillating or reactionary positions which had been marginally involved in the struggle against Batista soon abandoned the revolutionary process. In the July 26 Movement itself, which had played a decisive role in the armed struggle, there were dissents and a few desertions, but the bulk of the fighters of the Rebel Army and of the underground, the best of their ranks, which was the immense majority, firmly stood by the Revolution at every phase, from Moncada until the founding of our glorious Marxist-Leninist

Party. If in the 1868 war of independence defeat was brought about by divisions, this time it was unity that gave us the victory.

In principle, the Revolution never closed the doors to any honest Cuban, to any citizen willing to work for it. It was generous in the strictest sense of the word. Historical merits were taken into consideration, but in new history which was then being written, there was an honorable place for every worthy Cuban.

At the time of the insurrectional struggle, many of our compatriots were too young and had not yet gained a clear class consciousness, or reached a level of revolutionary political thought above their own class. There was a vast gap between all the bourgeois-liberal political education, which permeated our entire society, and socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Our masses, especially the workers and the poorest sections of society, which made up the overwhelming majority, rapidly covered it. The Revolution itself, the resolute struggle against imperialism and the exploiting classes, were an excellent teacher for all of us.

That is why, on April 16, 1961, at the burial of the victims of the cruel bombings, in a vibrant setting of upraised rifles and the vigorous fists of our workers, just before going to battle with the invaders, the working people proclaimed with heroic determination the socialist nature of our Revolution. By then, foreign monopolies, landowners and national bourgeoisie had been expropriated and our working class had lost the only thing it had had: its chains. As a revolutionary class allied with the peasantry and the other poor sections of the people, it was to become the undisputed vanguard of this process.

The conditions were there to bring together all the revolutionaries in one party. A process of integration at the ground and direction levels had already started, but after the definitive statement of April 16 and the glorious Girón victory, our Party, in fact, originated from the close unity of all the revolutionaries and



working people, cemented by the heroism of our working class fighting and generously shedding its blood in defense of the Homeland and socialism. From then on, we were to act as one organization under a united leadership. The brilliant ideas of Martí and Lenin on the need for one party to lead the revolution were more than ever present. Its ideology could not be that of liberal or bourgeois thought, but that of the revolutionary social class that history itself had placed at the head of mankind's struggle for liberation—that of the working class—Marxism-Leninism, which Baliño and Mella had already courageously upheld in 1925.

This ideology was historically linked with the aspirations of the heroic *mambises*, who had shed so much blood for the independence of Cuba and the equality and dignity of their compatriots. Yankee imperialism was now the enemy of the nation, and the modern slave-holders—foreign monopolies, landowners and the bourgeoisie—were its social enemy. This ideology linked the national struggle with the world revolutionary movement, an indispensable condition for the national and social liberation of our people. The building of the Marxist-Leninist Party, which now leads the revolution and guarantees its continuity, is one of our people's greatest achievements in this historical period. The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Party were officially constituted on October 1, 1965.

We have been speaking about the merits of our people, but it is impossible to do so without emphasizing the outstanding role played by international solidarity. Without the resolute, firm and generous help of the Soviet people, our country could not have survived the confrontation with imperialism. They bought our sugar when our market was brutally cut off by the United States; they provided us with raw materials and fuel that we would have been unable to purchase anywhere else; they gave us, free of charge, the weapons with which we fought the mercenaries at

Girón and equipped our Revolutionary Armed Forces, so as to make any direct aggression from the United States as costly as possible; they gave extraordinary support to our economy in the critical years of the economic blockade. Thousands upon thousands of Soviet military specialists and technicians helped to train our Armed Forces or supported virtually every branch of our economy with their assistance. The Soviet people's effort was followed by other socialist countries to the extent of their possibilities.

The debt of gratitude to the glorious Party of the Soviet Union and its heroic people will always be in our hearts. In the solidarity extended to Cuba, a country located thousands of miles away from the USSR, were realized the internationalist visions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the destiny of this continent was influenced with invincible force by the immortal October Revolution. There will be many changes in the future, the day will even come when capitalism disappears in the United States, but our feeling of friendship for the people that helped us in those decisive and critical years, when we faced starvation and extermination, will be everlasting. This adds to our gratitude to the people that blazed the trail of the socialist revolution and that, at the cost of millions of lives, freed the world from the scourge of fascism.

Our confidence in Lenin's Homeland is unbounded, because in the course of more than half a century the Soviet revolution has proved its adherence to the principles and consistent line of behavior in its international policy. It has shown this not only in Cuba but also in Viet Nam, in the Middle East, in the Portuguese colonies fighting for their independence, in Chile, Cyprus, Yemen, Angola and every other part of the world where the national liberation movement confronts colonialism and imperialism, as it once did in an exemplary manner with the heroic Spanish people. This incontestable truth has not been invalidated by a



single exception, and in the long run any slanderous attempt to deny history's objective facts will be useless. The USSR has also made a decisive contribution to world peace, without which, in this epoch of growing scarcity of raw materials and fuel, the imperialist powers would have launched upon a new and voracious partition of the world. The mere existence of the powerful Soviet State makes this alternative impossible. Its detractors, who try to deny this, are like dogs barking at the moon.

The Cuban Revolution continued on its inexorable course. The means of production gradually became the property of society. On October 3, 1963, a new Agrarian Reform Law was enacted, establishing the maximum land holding at 67 hectares. Farms exceeding that size were nationalized. At the same time, all the farmers were promised that there would be no new agrarian laws, so that any further advance toward higher ways of farming could be accomplished only with the consent of the producers.

About 70 per cent of the land remained in the hands of the nation as the common property of all the people, who develop and exploits it for the exclusive benefit of society as a whole. In this sense, our country took a stride forward of exceptional importance. This was an imperative necessity due to the fact that Cuba's exports and development basically depend on agricultural "surpluses."

In March 1968, a revolutionary offensive was carried out as a result of which a large number of small enterprises passed into the hands of the nation. Such a measure was not necessarily a question of principle in the construction of socialism at that stage, but the result of the specific situation in our country under the harsh economic blockade imposed by imperialism and the need to make the utmost use of the human and financial resources, to which was added the negative political activity of a strata of urban capitalists who hindered the process. This does not, of course, absolve

the Revolution from the responsibilities and consequences of any inefficient use of resources, which went to aggravate the financial situation and the manpower shortage.

Peasant plots, covering 30 per cent of the land, and a small part of the vehicles which were kept in operation as the personal property of those using them directly, were the only remaining forms of private property.

In the 1965-1970 period, the nation concentrated its main efforts on reaching a 10-million ton sugar cane harvest at the final phase of that period. This policy was outlined from an imperative need. Our population was growing and consumption increasing; this together with the country's economic development demanded important increases in exports. The effort was exceptional and was justified, both from the moral and the practical standpoint. It was also necessary somehow to compensate for the trade disbalance with the Soviet Union, which was a basic duty to the people who were so generously helping us. This endeavor was one of the most noble and enthusiastic undertaken by our people in that period of socialist construction. Still, it could not be achieved. Our industrial investments were not yet yielding fruit. Great imbalances in the rest of the economy were caused by the pressing problem of the ever larger labor force required for the sugar cane harvests in circumstances in which the mechanization of the harvest was being delayed for technical reasons. There were also shortcomings in organization, and inadequate direction and economic management methods. Reality proved to be more powerful than our intentions. It was necessary to rectify this situation and give up the achievement of this objective for some years. This, however, could not have been possible without the understanding of the Soviet people, who accepted reduced quantities of sugar from 1972 to 1974 but did not diminish the growing deliveries of raw materials, food, fuel and equipment to Cuba and who

also raised the prices of our exports, thereby improving the terms of trade.

It is necessary to point out that in the first ten years attention was not centered on economic work. In this first period of the Revolution, survival in the face of imperialist subversion, military aggressions and the ruthless economic blockade, commanded the nation's main efforts. For years, we had to keep over 300,000 men under arms to defend the country. To this was added the need of cutting sugar cane by hand, when the army of unemployed, which under capitalism had helped to take in the harvests, had disappeared owing to the new opportunities for employment opened up by the Revolution.

Even though the blockade subsisted and still subsists, over the past few years the nation has been able to concentrate on economic development problems in an atmosphere of relative peace. At the same time, there was a reduction of more than 150,000 men in the country's defenses, and growing mechanization and productivity in sugar cane harvests, which help to reduce the number of sugar cane-cutters. In the past few years, with this force released for construction, agriculture and industry, and adequate political and economic measures taken in due time, our Homeland has made progress at a remarkable rate. These results would have been unquestionably better if we had displayed more capacity, if our methods of managing and directing the economy had been more efficient.

During the revolutionary period the country has made notable advances in many fields. The merit of this progress lies in the fact that while the United States, a powerful country with vast military, economic and political resources, has done everything possible to strangle the Revolution and to re-establish its corrupt, exploitative and opprobrious system, our people have not only resisted and emerged victorious, but in these difficult conditions have accomplished magnificent deeds.

## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### *General Aspects*

In the first decade of our Revolution, when the blockade was most acute and the country was desperately defending itself against imperialist aggressions, our economic growth was slow. Between 1961 and 1965, the gross social product increased at a rate of only 1.9 per cent a year. Between 1966 and 1970, the growth rate increased to 3.9 per cent. Between 1971 and 1975, it already reached the truly impressive average of over 10 per cent a year.

This high figure for the previous period is the result, among other things, of the exceptional efforts the country has put into every work front since 1970, and of greater efficiency in economic activity. But there is an objective difficulty in maintaining this pace of economic development in the country's present conditions: the input of growing quantities of raw materials and production resources which have to be imported and which are beyond the possibilities of our import capacity. That is why it is necessary to adjust our economic growth to a more moderate rate over the next five-year period.

The will to work and the exertion of maximum effort at each production center is not enough. We must take into account the raw materials and resources used in each field of activity and know which of these we can obtain. There are some economic products whose growth depends more on our efforts than on imported resources; there should be more emphasis on these products and on those that increase our exports or reduce our imports. This criterion must be taken into account in order to understand the rate proposed to our Congress for the next five-year period, a much higher rate than that of the early years but lower than that of the recent period. A country's growth cannot depend only on the will of its workers, but also on the

available raw materials, its natural resources, its basic industrial facilities, the technological level attained and the opportunities for foreign trade. The world economic situation, now under the effects of the worst crisis since the 1930s, is an important factor that must be reckoned with when outlining the objectives for a given period.

Our country is poor in natural resources, we have no coal deposits, nor, according to research, oil in any considerable quantities, nor hydraulic energy owing to the size and shape of our territory. The country's forests were depleted during the capitalist stage. Our iron abounds in the form of laterite, whose exploitation technology is at the research and development stage, and not in the form of oxide, which is the one used traditionally by the steel industry. The lack of a raw material basis for the development of the steel industry and petrochemistry, two crucial industries in any modern economy, has up to now been a great disadvantage.

Our Homeland depended mainly on sugar cane agriculture without any type of mechanization, claiming the bulk of the national energies and always subject to the vagaries of the climate. Suffice it to point out that in some periods both in agriculture and the sugar cane industry over 600,000 men had to be employed in low-productivity seasonal work. At about the same time, an oil-producing country, like Venezuela, just to mention one example, employing 20,000 men in extractive activities, or 3.3 per cent of the labor force, earned 6 times more foreign exchange than Cuba, and this occurred long before the recent extraordinary increases in fuel prices. Our deposits of nickel, a valuable mineral which does abound in Cuba, were still to be explored, and their exploitation required large investments not available to our country during the first years of the Revolution.

Without access to any technology, except that coming from the USSR, without credits in the internation-



At the Congress

al finance agencies controlled by the US Government, without the possibility of purchasing a truck, a bulldozer or any other kind of production equipment on the Western market as a result of the blockade, and with sugar prices depressed, the obstacles to the nation's economic and social development were truly impressive. No ambitious plan of industrial development in those conditions was really feasible. Subjective factors had to be added to this objective situation. All at once, the people had to fill State posts, and take charge of the administration of all the basic production centers. The monopolies and the bourgeoisie and the most skilled managers and technicians had left Cuba. Ordinary men from the ranks of the people, very often with less than six years of schooling, had to assume the functions of direction in industrial and agricultural processes for which the ruling classes had been trained generation after generation, from father to son, in the country's few educational centers. We revolutionary leaders ourselves, who had been able to solve difficult problems related to the insurrectional struggle and the take-over of power, were, by contrast, quite ignorant of the most essential aspects of economic science and socialist construction.

Nevertheless, despite the enormous difficulties, the country was not stifled economically, and even achieved noteworthy, though modest, advances in this field, which, together with an equitable distribution of wealth and the profound justice inherent in socialism, allowed us to carry out extraordinary social transformations and helped us to solve problems that no other people in this hemisphere has as yet been able to solve.

We can now proclaim with pride that we are a country without unemployment, without racial discrimination, without hunger, without beggars, without gambling, without prostitution, without drug addiction, without illiteracy, without barefooted unschooled children, without slums, and without sick people abandoned to their fate. Our education and

our public health are models of social achievements that are admired by many in different countries.

In this period, some branches of production have grown considerably.

Nickel output at the plants existing when the Revolution triumphed has been doubled.

Oil refining has gone up from 3.6 million tons in 1958 to 5.9 million tons in 1975. The output of lubricants has also increased from 6,000 tons to 135,000 tons.

Electric power generation has increased from 2,550 million kwh to 6,500 million kwh. Engineering output has tripled.

Steel output, starting from a very low level, has increased from 24,000 tons to 240,000 tons, that is to say, 10 times.

Fertilizer production has gone up from 195,000 tons in 1958 to 1,002,000 in 1975.

The production of herbicides has increased from 120 tons in 1958 to 2,800 tons.

Paper and cardboard production has increased 2.5 times.

Glass container production has increased 2.9 times.

Textile production has increased 2.5 times.

Footwear production has increased almost 3 times.

Cement output has increased from 743,000 tons to 2 million tons.

The availability of wheat flour has gone up from 190,000 tons to 510,000 tons, and the milling in the country from 73,000 to 180,000.

Food paste production has increased from an estimated 10,000 tons to 50,000 tons.

Children's food output has increased from 2,832 tons in 1963 to 20,000 tons in 1975.

Ice cream production has increased from 2.3 million gallons in 1958 to 16 million gallons in 1975, including over 12 million gallons of sherbet.

Beer and malt beer output has increased from 14 million crates to 30 million crates.

The fish catch has increased more than 6 times.

The cultivated area in 1975 was double that of 1958.

Between 1958 and 1975, the number of tractors has increased from 9,000 to 54,000.

Water-storage capacity has risen from 29 million cu m to 4,400 million cu m.

Irrigation now covers 508,000 hectares, as compared with 160,000 hectares.

The areas planted to citrus crops are nine times those of 1958, now totalling more than 100,000 hectares.

Egg production is six times the pre-Revolution level.

A total of 17,059 kilometers of roads and highways have been built, 1.7 times more than those built under capitalism.

In 1975, the value of the various projects in the construction sector amounts to 1,400 million pesos, or three times the 1970 level, the growth here averaging approximately 25 per cent a year in the present five-year period.

Today, the Cuban Merchant Fleet has a capacity 9 times that of 1958.

### *Sugar Industry*

At the beginning of the Revolution, some heavy blows were dealt the sugar industry. Our traditional markets were liquidated by imperialism. Purchases of equipment, spare parts and materials from traditional suppliers became impossible, and there was a great drain of skilled personnel. This brought about a reduction in the area under sugar cane, which dwindled from 100,000 *caballerías* in 1961 to 87,000 in 1963, that is, from 1,340,000 hectares to 1,165,800. That year, the crop dropped to 3.8 million tons, the lowest mark of the revolutionary period.

However, the need to mechanize the harvesting was strongly advocated from the very outset. In this coun-

try, we could no longer tolerate an army of unemployed, that had risen from 600,000 in 1953 to 700,000 in 1958, part of which worked on the harvest four months in the year. This was a typically capitalist method of sugar production, and it could only exist under the regime's sub-human conditions. But the country had no machine-building industry, and under the existing conditions our mechanized harvesting techniques were absolutely embryonic. Such machines simply had neither been designed nor built by modern industry. Che was one of the leading advocates of this endeavor. Simultaneously, one of the first bulk-sugar terminals was built.

From year to year, the manpower problem was growing more acute. By gradually eliminating the scourge of unemployment, the nation was depriving itself of the customary sugar cane-cutters, at a time when no machines had yet been developed to replace them. This was one of the country's most difficult problems in the first years. In those difficult days, the sugar harvesting was made possible by our dedicated industrial workers, who mobilized themselves to cut cane, together with soldiers of the army and intermediate education students, so filling the manpower shortage for this fundamental activity and adding dignity to work done by means of slave exploitation in the old days, by cruelly exploited immigrants in the early years of the Republic and by the starved army of unemployed before the Revolution.

The first plan for the development of the sugar industry was put into practice in the five-year period, from 1966 to 1970. The objectives were those of increasing installed capacity, replacing the industry's obsolete equipment, massively introducing advanced techniques in cane planting and cultivation, and solving the problem of mechanizing the harvesting. In those years, 334 million pesos was invested in

industrial facilities, of which 99 million went into reconstruction and 235 million into enlargement. The lands earmarked for cane growing increased by 35 per cent, new varieties of cane were introduced, and the extension of irrigation and the use of herbicides was begun. The use of fertilizers was considerably increased. In this period, new machines were designed to mechanize the harvesting. In 1970, Cuba grew its biggest sugar harvest ever, and the world's biggest sugar cane harvest. The progress made in agricultural yields and the use of technical means was considerable. Cultivation was mechanized, and the mechanization of harvesting was started. The bulk-sugar shipping system was enlarged. But the efforts to secure a sugar harvest of that magnitude were beyond the organizational levels reached, beyond the efficiency of our economy, the degree of mechanization and the available manpower resources. |

There was a drop in the harvest over the next two years, but from 1973 on the growth in production has been steady, despite the terrible droughts which have hit us in these past few years.

During the last three sugar harvests, there was a real qualitative leap in sugar production. The program for the reconstruction of sugar mills was being carried out; the workers, the direction staff, and the technicians markedly improved their skills; and the lands earmarked for sugar cultivation were extended to 113,000 *caballerías*, or 1,514,200 hectares. Progress in mechanizing sugar harvesting has gone forward at a good pace. During the last sugar harvest, more than 1,000 harvester combines were used; they cut 25 per cent of the sugar cane and the number of cane-conditioning centers went up to 445. The mechanization of sugar lifting reached 98 per cent; the cane fields have been standardized and all the rubbish is being cleared away for the progressive introduction of mechanization; sugar cane varieties with the best yields are being extensively introduced, and more and more technical

facilities are being used in the whole of agricultural activity. During the sugar harvest in 1975, there were only 180,000 cane-cutters, or almost half the number of cane-cutters used under capitalism. Since 1970, nearly 170,000 workers once engaged in sugar harvesting were able to work in other branches of economic activity.

These promising results have been largely achieved through the movement of outstanding cane-cutting brigades with millions of *arrobos* to their credit and honored cane-cutters, and also through the organizational measures introduced since 1970 with the establishment of the sugar sector.

With regard to the industrial productivity of sugar mills, the total manpower figure has been reduced from 120,000 men in 1970 to 89,000 in 1975, that is, by 26 per cent. The progressive development of our sugar industry and production has been fully assured.

However, it will be necessary to give maximum attention to the extension of land irrigation and the broad cultivation of drought-resistant varieties, because of the irregularities of the weather, with three consecutive years of scarce rainfall, something that has never occurred before the revolutionary period, and that, according to the opinions of some scientists, may assume worldwide proportions for an indefinite period of time. For want of other natural resources, sugar will continue to be our main export product.

### *Heavy Industry*

Since the victory of the Revolution, the country's heavy industry as a whole has grown 2.9-fold, at an annual rate of 6.4 per cent. In the past five years, the rate has been 11 per cent.

Since 1958, installed capacity in the electric power industry has tripled while investments have totalled 250 million pesos. In this period, many thermal power

plants have been set up. Power consumption has increased from 406 kwh per head in 1959 to an estimated 705 kwh in 1975. There are now 32,067 km of various transmission lines, as compared with 13,098 km before the Revolution, and the various isolated systems that existed in 1959 have been integrated into one national grid. By 1975, specific fuel oil consumption, at 398 grams per kwh in 1958 has been brought down to 349. In the past five-year period alone, this saving represented 4.6 million tons of fuel oil. In 1975, there were 474 engineers in this industry as compared with 200 in 1968; more than 6,000 skilled workers have been trained during the revolutionary period. Over 70 per cent of the housing has electricity, which puts us close to the top among the countries of Latin America.

In the mining industry, the main increase was made in nickel production, whose volume doubled to 36,800 tons this year. Since the exodus of technicians and the total suspension of spare parts supplies, workers in this industry, operating on US technology and equipment, have made a remarkable effort to maintain and raise production levels. They have shown what our working class is capable of doing. With the cooperation of the USSR, the rehabilitation and enlargement of the Nicaro and Moa plants—where this praiseworthy effort is being made—is now under way.

Social and sanitary conditions at other mining production centers have been radically improved, whereas in the old days manganic, silicosis and other diseases were the causes of disability or death among workers. Production of plaster and silica sand has increased, and the mines in general are being run in a rational and scientific manner.

Oil prospecting has been undertaken on the basis of scientifically outlined plans. There are now 80 university-graduate technicians engaged in this task. Through this effort, new oil deposits have been discovered, but while their levels of extraction and reserves



have been steadily raised, they still are far from being significant for our economy.

Systematic work has been carried out in the field of solid mineral exploration and the mineral reserves of several enterprises belonging to the nation's economic organisms have been increased; the location of new reserve deposits has been carried out with a view to establishing new cement factories, stone-crushing mills, etc., and also locating new copper, lead, zinc and pyrite deposits, so as to multiply those existing before the Revolution many times over.

A labor force of 4,800 is now engaged in the search for solid minerals, and of these 910 are intermediate- and high-level technicians.

These efforts notwithstanding, only 5 per cent of the nation's territory has been adequately explored.

In the chemical industry, 300 million pesos has been invested during the revolutionary period.

The value of finished products in this industry, estimated at 303 million in 1958, has increased to an estimated 694 million in 1975.

Workers in oil refining have scored important successes in boosting production by maintaining in exploitation, enlarging and almost doubling the refining capacity of existing facilities which at the time of the triumph of the Revolution were US-owned.

In fertilizer production, old facilities have been restored and new and modern installations built. Production has increased 5.1 times in volume and 9.3 times in nutrient value.

In the glass industry, new investments have been made, and as a result production has increased 2.9 times. Not so in paper, cardboard and tires where the investments were small, but where considerable production increases with just the existing facilities have nevertheless been made.

Paint production has doubled, as compared with that of 1959.

When the Revolution triumphed, there was virtually no metal-working industry. There were about 40 workshops, of which only 8 employed more than 100 workers, and a total of 4,000 workers. In 1959, the value of the product came to 29 million pesos.

In 1975, the metal-working industry, with 70 units and a labor force of 29,000 workers, of whom 339 are university graduates, has a product valued at 271 million pesos.

Since the triumph of the Revolution this young industry has developed at an average rate of 15 per cent a year. One of its most important products is corrugated steel bars for construction, developed with the assistance of the Soviet Union at the Antillana de Acero works. This important economic branch is limited by the availability of steel.

### *Light Industry*

The light industry inherited from capitalism thousands of scattered small production units, many of them artisan and with a low technical level, together with some relatively modern factories. There were, for instance, 1,389 footwear units; 1,000 ready-made garment units; 76 soap and perfume factories; 68 tanneries and 121 graphic art units. To reduce costs and raise productivity, these production units had to be rationalized.

In some branches, such as footwear, the results were notable. The existing 1,389 centers were trimmed to 102 and the value of the leather and fabric shoe output, which in 1959 stood at 34.5 million pesos with 14,000 workers, rose in 1974 to 92.9 million with 15,395 workers.

Of course, this rationalization and mechanization of industry was not done in accordance with the usual capitalist practice of firing workers and condemning



them to poverty. They were given economic assistance while being retrained in other trades; training schools were set up and they were offered the most diverse opportunities of advancement and work.

Footwear output, 11.5 million in 1958, has increased to 30 million in 1975, including the new line of plastic footwear.

In textiles, with a level of 60 million sq m under capitalism, a level of 145 million has been achieved, even though this is still insufficient and makes large imports necessary.

In the past five-year period, the growth rate of the light industry as a whole, although it has had its ups and downs during the period from 1965 to 1970, has been 12 per cent. The value of its product, 440 million pesos in 1970, this year increased to 738 million. Labor productivity growth has been equally high. The female labor force in the light industries, increasing each year, already comes to 45 per cent of all the workers. In general, this industry has received important investments during the revolutionary period.

### *Food Industry*

The food industry has grown steadily over the past 10 years. From 1966 to 1970, its output increased at an annual rate of 4 per cent, and between 1971 and 1975 the average rate has reached 6 per cent. Since the triumph of the Revolution, the output of many of its products has been doubled and of some has grown even more.

In the 1966-1970 five-year period, 53 million pesos has been invested in the food industry. There has been a vigorous boost in investments during the 1971-1975 period. Complete plants under contract, either under construction or in operation, totalled more than 100, with an investment value of 195 million pesos, whose effects are to become evident in the increase of produc-

tion in the coming period. In 1975 the value of the product in the industry has gone up to 1,370 million pesos.

### *Agriculture*

In this period, great transformations have taken place in agriculture. Before the Revolution, 8 per cent of the landowners owned more than 70 per cent of the land, the US latifundia included. A large part was exploited directly, and the rest was cultivated in the forms of tenancy, tied sugar cane farms (*colonato*) or share-cropping.

After the first Agrarian Reform Law, more than 100,000 small tenants, *colonos*, share-croppers, etc., received the lands they cultivated on their own free of charge. The Agrarian Reform Law put into the hands of the State vast non-allotted areas once controlled by the landowners to be cultivated by the nation as the property of the whole people.

This Law, which was fairly hastily drafted, included the prevailing criterion of the allotment of the lands which had not been previously distributed, although it also included the idea of organizing a part of those lands into cooperatives. In its application, the erroneous criterion of allotment was abandoned, for Cuba's development and even economic survival depended on the existence of a large-scale and technically developed agriculture. The peasants' aspiration to own the lands worked by themselves had been satisfied. The rest of the workers in the countryside were farm laborers. It would have been socially backward to turn them into individual peasants or even into cooperativists, in relation to a militant sector of our proletariat, such as the sugar cane agricultural workers have always been. Politically, the Revolution was strong, and such a measure, which under certain circumstances can be justified for tactical reasons, was not indispensable to our process. For that reason, and by the will of

the overwhelming majority of the working people, the vast tracts of the land cultivated by agricultural workers were not divided, while the cooperative farms originally set up with the participation of workers in the sugar cane growing areas were transformed into state farms.

It was mainly the Yankee monopolies and the land-owning oligarchy that were affected by this first Agrarian Reform Law. The limit for private property was lowered to 402 hectares, which, though politically just at the time the Law was enacted, and which essentially affected a small social class of big landowners, was still too high and would later clash with the further development of the Revolution. The agrarian bourgeoisie had generally remained intact. Three years later, on October 3, 1963, it became imperative to enact a new Agrarian Reform Law to expropriate farms with over 67 hectares, establishing this as the maximum limit for privately owned land. Approximately 10,000 farms were affected by this measure. The land stock, property of the entire people, increased to 70 per cent of the country's area, and constituted the basis for the development of the productive forces in a large part of our agriculture, without in any way hampering the relations of production. The rest of the land remained in the hands of the small and middle farmers, who were given guarantees that any further modification of the agricultural property system would be made on a strictly voluntary basis. This made it possible later on to work out a specialization policy for our agricultural units, taking advantage of the technical scale, the adequacy of crops to soil, the experience and specialization of the workers, and the distribution and location of crops, in keeping with the requirements of industry, transport and the population.

Our fields have not only been transformed structurally, but also technically and socially.

With 9,000 tractors before the Revolution, we now have 54,000 tractors with a higher hp per unit.

Thousands of sugar cane lifting machines handle 98 per cent of the hand-cut sugar cane, once a manual operation. Over 1,000 combines now harvest 25 per cent of the sugar crop.

Seven hundred workshops have been set up for the reconstruction, repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery, to which 2,200 mobile workshops have been added.

Agricultural aviation, developed after the triumph of the Revolution, consists of 150 aircraft and carries out the important tasks of fumigation, fertilization and weeding of key crops by chemical means.

The cultivation of rice, including the harvesting, once totally done by hand has been mechanized 100 per cent. We now have 1,000 combines.

Equal advances have been made in potato and konaf mechanization.

At present, most land cultivation is done by machines, whereas it was once done mostly with the use of draft animals.

Hundreds of thousands of hectares of virgin lands have been bulldozed and put to the plow, with the cultivated area doubled.

Agricultural transport, once mostly involving draft animals, has been mechanized; 11,000 trucks and 5,000 tractors are now available for these purposes.

Today, three times more pesticides and five times more fertilizers are used than before the triumph of the Revolution. The use of herbicides in cropping has been introduced.

The area under irrigation has increased from 160,000 hectares to 580,000 hectares. Water-storage capacity has multiplied more than 100-fold.

In the past five years, 1,200 modern dairies and 70 calf-breeding centers have been built.

All of the existing poultry and pig farms, once small and primitive, have been built in the revolutionary period. Poultry farming has 411 units and 43 incubation plants. Pig farming has 200 units.

The number of highways has doubled, and that of roads for agriculture trebled.

Cattle-raising has had its ups and downs; on the upgrade in the early years, it later declined through excess slaughter. The cattle population is somewhat larger than that before the Revolution, which is not much of an achievement. Its quality has improved, being much higher thanks to artificial insemination, which was introduced after the Revolution, and genetic cross-breeding stations. Previously, only 10 per cent of the total was dairy cattle, today it is 50 per cent. Hand-milking has been gradually replaced by modern machinery. All new units are being built on this basis. As a result, dairy production has grown considerably in recent years. The genetic research into dairy problems in tropical conditions has aroused interest in many countries. Sanitary conditions have markedly improved.

Egg production amounts to 1,700 million, which is 6 times that of 1958. Poultry meat output is 4 times that 12 years ago. The average of over 227 eggs per hen to be achieved this year is above the averages achieved previously. This puts us in an outstanding position on a world level.

Pork production has increased threefold since 1963. New breeds of pigs were introduced and sugar cane by-products and food wastes have been increasingly used in their feeding.

The area planted to citrus has increased from 10,000 hectares to over 100,000 hectares, which in the coming years will put the country among the world's leading producers of citrus.

In the last 12 years, the area under rice has increased from 40,200 hectares to 187,600 hectares, and large investments are being made to extend the area, mechanize operations and raise yields, with the purpose of reducing rice imports to a minimum. In recent years, heavy droughts brought about difficulties which forced rice workers to make enormous efforts to maintain and increase production.

In the tobacco areas, 12,000 new tobacco houses and 1,600 mild-tobacco farms have been built, while the area under irrigation has increased by 20,100 hectares.

In 1975, root crop and vegetable production reached about one million tons, the highest in our country's history.

In this report, we have already referred previously to sugar cane agriculture, its advances and its rapid mechanization.

Large specialized agricultural stations with modern facilities, raising the technical level of our agriculture and creating the conditions for accelerated growth in production, are being developed in every province.

Three thousand university-graduate technicians, 23,000 intermediate technicians and skilled workers and more than 50,000 lower-level specialists are already working in agriculture.

The face of our countryside has changed. One hundred and fifty-three modern rural communities have been built, and 71 are under construction. Electricity is supplied to more remote areas of the countryside through the network of cane-conditioning centers, school facilities, pumping stations and dairy farms.

Pre-universities, basic secondary schools and technological institutes with their work-study system help gradually to transform the landscape, involving urban young people in creative and educational work, and channelling their energies and culture into the country's agricultural areas.

But not everything can be considered a success in our agriculture. Coffee output on plantations located in mountainous regions, where manpower problems are more intransigent, has gradually declined.

Special efforts are required to increase the cattle population in keeping with the growth of the human population and its needs.

In the cultivation of tobacco, some of the painstaking care of the old tobacco growers has been lost.

There is still much to be done in organization, higher productivity and use of equipment, and material and manpower resources, although it is right to recognize the advances attained in the last few years and the heroic efforts made by agricultural and administrative workers who have achieved the successful transformation of our agriculture in an underdeveloped countryside and in difficult conditions.

### *Forestry Development*

Everything relating to forest preservation is entirely new. At the beginning of the century, the country had 5.9 million hectares under forest. For centuries, we had been exporters of timber. In the capitalist period, the forest area was reduced to 1.5 million hectares in the mountainous or low-lying areas unsuitable for cultivation. The remnants of these forests had been exploited to the utmost, and so the country became an importer of timber. Not a single tree was ever planted in these areas. The forced eviction of the peasants in the mountainous areas likewise led to the destruction of large timber resources and to the erosion of the soils.

From the outset, the Revolution gave special attention to the problem. Early efforts at reforestation were made by the Rebel Army in 1959 and were later carried on by INRA (National Institute of Agrarian Reform). In 1967, the National Institute for the Development and Use of Forests was set up to take charge of this activity.

During the revolutionary period, 600 million seedlings have been planted. At present, this work is being done with ever higher quality and technical rigor in order to reduce losses to the minimum.

In 1969, a Forestry Research Center was set up with a national network of experimental stations to work

for the genetic improvement of forest species, to produce high-quality seeds, to analyze and study the soils, develop techniques in the handling of plantations, and to study and control pests and diseases affecting trees.

Special attention has been given to the training of skilled personnel, for which a modern Technological Forestry Institute for 1,200 students has been built, and the speciality of forest engineer introduced at the University of Havana.

### *Tobacco Industry*

Concerning the tobacco industry, the value of the output of the Cuban Tobacco Enterprise in 1974 amounted to 60 million pesos' worth of hand-rolled cigars, reaching the level attained at the time of the triumph of the Revolution, and 132 million pesos' worth of cigarettes, whose production increased by 53 per cent. The industry has been modernized through improved techniques in some tobacco processes, and in the making of matches. In 1959, there were 1,092 factories and small workshops for the manufacture of cigars; rationalization and concentration have reduced this number to 97.

In 1958, exports amounted to 12,256,000 pesos' worth of cigars and 140,000 pesos' worth of cigarettes. In 1974, the figure was 28,121,000 pesos' worth of cigars and 10,683,000 pesos' worth of cigarettes, making up a total of 59,424,000 pesos' worth of tobacco export—a record. Before the triumph of the Revolution, the United States took 67 per cent of our raw tobacco exports; today the share of the finished products is larger.

The labor force in the Cuban Tobacco Enterprise is 49,672 workers, of whom 26,901 are women. The bulk of the raw materials for this industry is produced by the small landowning peasants, who account for 82 per cent of its cultivation. Apart from the small holders,

and regular and seasonal workers, thousands of students from the secondary and pre-university schools are involved in harvesting the tobacco crop. The planted area for the 1974-1975 harvest totalled 5,121 *caballerías*, or 68,621 hectares.

### *Fisheries*

Although this is an island, exploitation of marine resources had not been developed. In 1958, the total fish catch was 21,900 tons, with a consumption of 4.8 kg per head. At that time, Cuba imported an average of 7.49 million pesos' worth of marine products and exported 2.1 million pesos' worth. Almost all the fishing activities were centered on the shelf, and involved the use of extremely primitive and outdated means. The fishermen's life was hazardous, hard and wretched.

Since the early years, the Revolution gave as much attention as it could to the development of fisheries. The middlemen were eliminated and prices stabilized. The introduction of new techniques was started, and new types of boats were designed.

In 1960, the catch reached 31,200 tons. Between 1961 and 1965, the Havana Fishing Port was built with the cooperation of the USSR, and the first large ships—trawlers and tuna boats—were purchased abroad. On May 30, 1962, the State Fishing Enterprise, later to become the Cuban Fishing Fleet, was set up to operate them. The Gulf Fleet was also set up, with 75-foot boats built in Cuba. At that time, three fishing towns were built, and the Victoria de Girón Sea School and the Andrés González Lines Higher Fishing School were established to train qualified personnel and intermediate technicians.

In the following period, large ships, equipped with the most modern apparatus, and three refrigerator ships were added. The exploitation of new international fishing areas was started and new techniques were

introduced on the shelf. Shrimp fleets are being organized with steel-hull ships, making fishing possible in the remotest areas. Small national shipyards were developed, and their output increased. In 1970, the 100,000-ton mark was passed in fish catch. Consumption is growing and exports are increasing.

New trawlers have been added from that year on. The Tuna Fishing Fleet of Cuba is being formed to specialize in the catching of tuna; new floating docks for the repair of ships are being acquired; the Fishing Port of Cienfuegos and of the La Coloma and Santa Cruz del Sur combines are being built; new processing facilities are being installed; two modern cold storage plants are being built in Santiago de Cuba and Havana; construction of ferroconcrete and plastics ships is being introduced, and the necessary equipment for an extensive domestic fish distribution network purchased.

In 1974, the catch was 165,000 tons, the per head consumption rose to 10.7 kg, and exports to 50.1 million pesos. At present, the high-sea fleets have the highest output.

Since 1960, 6,337 small and medium boats have been built in the country, 3,684 of them out of wood, 2,099 of plastics, 401 of ferroconcrete and 153 of steel. To these we have to add the hundreds of modern medium and larger boats built abroad, with every convenience and the necessary security for the workers of the sea.

The fishermen's life has changed. Nowadays, they work with modern means and safe devices. Their incomes are much higher. Productivity per fisherman has increased 4.8 times.

Our country recently acquired 26 big modern trawlers. Some of them are already in operation. The others are to be put into service in the next two years. In 1980, the catch should reach 350,000 tons.

Formerly, our fishing was carried on mainly offshore on row and sail boats. Today, our sea workers also labor and produce for our people on distant seas thousands of miles away from the Homeland. Their

attitude and behavior in the face of imperialism's aggressive action and hostilities have been exemplary. A new tradition is taking shape in a country which had once had its back turned on the sea.

### *Construction*

Construction is another sector of the economy where surprising advances have been achieved in this period. In 1958, Cuba had 83,000 construction workers. Today, there are 275,000.

In the past, most of this activity was carried on by private enterprises. The State also participated through the Ministry of Public Works, but this body awarded subcontracts to private companies for most of the projects, while undertaking very few of them itself. The scandalous frauds, shady deals and embezzlement which occurred under capitalism in the sphere of public works are widely known.

Before the Revolution, construction work was also in a sense seasonal. By the end of the sugar harvest period, the government usually made some investments in construction works, aimed to inject some money into the bourgeois economy, rather than to increase employment. To be hired, the workers had to have political recommendations and to meet other humiliating requirements. Besides, thousands of construction workers were hired for the erection of luxury buildings for the opulent classes. There was no rational distribution of construction works. Seventy per cent were carried out in the capital city. Capitalist society did not appreciate at all the noble efforts of the construction workers, they were actually discriminated against, and only downright misery forced them to seek this kind of work.

Upon the victory of the Revolution, many enterprises engaged in construction work, and having dubious contacts with the tyranny, were taken over by

the State, which undertook the construction of public works. As the Revolution became more radical, large enterprises were nationalized, and the bourgeoisie's economic domination of the country came to an end. The construction industry was gradually taken over by the nation. Both the meager material basis and the construction enterprises became the people's property. The content and the objectives of construction activity underwent a total change. It had to meet the demands of the country's economic and social development, while following a rigorously established order of priorities. Nor was the task in this field an easy one. There came the well-known exodus of personnel and technicians, who had formerly served the bourgeoisie. The equipment, which in most cases had come from the USA, was left without spare parts. Their replacement became a most difficult task for the country. Very often, the scanty means available had to be used for an immense number of different purposes, including natural disasters, the repair of roads for the haulage of cane, which was just being mechanized, or for the needs of defense. These difficulties affected the advance of construction work in the first few years. To some extent, work discipline was relaxed and productivity fell. The revolutionary leadership itself still lacked any clear awareness of the exceptional importance of this activity for the development of socialism.

However, from the very outset, some industrial measures were taken to develop the material basis for construction. The building of new cement factories and the enlargement of existing facilities was projected; it was decided to develop, with the help of the USSR, the production of corrugated steel rods, and also of stone, sand and other materials, with technology from other socialist countries.

As soon as the country had the means, and the supply sources, it proceeded to purchase new building equipment. On the other hand, the manpower shortage and

the need to shorten operations had a great influence on the search for and development of more advanced building techniques.

From 1965 on, the building of dams, roads and highways was markedly increased. The first construction brigades emerged from these projects, for which a permanent and specialized labor force is required.

The Construction Sector was set up in 1970 to coordinate the various branches of this activity, which has become very extensive. The main responsibility for construction is borne by State organisms which are in charge of handling the numerous economic construction requirements and social needs. The organization of specialized brigades was extended to the main construction activities. Tens of thousands of men joined the Construction Sector, many of them released from sugar cane harvesting and defense functions, as a result of growing harvest mechanization and the relative peace, improved techniques, efficiency and the larger number of cadres in our Armed Forces. Construction mini-brigades were formed at work centers to develop housing.

The production of cement, iron rods and other materials has increased, and from 1970 to 1975, there has been an exceptional advance in construction throughout the country.

The difficult conditions of the first ten years notwithstanding, from 1959 to 1968 industrial construction and assembly were worth 392 million pesos, that is, an annual average of 39 million and a total of more than 2 million sq m of space. Prior to the Revolution, industrial works were carried on by foreign firms, so that the country lacked experience and technical cadres in this specialized field.

Production in the Sector, worth 329 million pesos in 1970, has increased to 1,400 million in 1975, apart from the construction work carried out on their own by other organisms. In the last five-year period alone,

468 schools, have been put up, with facilities for 281,521 pupils. Of this, 348 are intermediate-level boarding schools for about 200,000 pupils. Among others, 264 basic secondary and pre-university schools in the countryside, 45 polytechnical schools, 15 technological colleges, 11 teacher-training schools, 9 pedagogic schools, 3 schools for physical culture teachers and a vocational school for 4,500 students have been built in this period.

In the same period, over 1,000 agricultural installations were put up, with industrial construction and assembly operations worth 475 million pesos.

During the revolutionary period, the highway and road network has almost tripled, and water storage capacity for agriculture, as already mentioned, increased 100-fold.

In housing, the Revolution has not yet been able to do a great deal. Between 1959 and 1975, just over 200,000 houses have been built. The shortage is very high, and although in the last few years building has been stepped up, especially by the fine work of the mini-brigades, this is not enough. At the present time, the need to give priority to economic facilities, schools, hospitals and other urgent demands of the nation does not allow us to concentrate more resources in housing construction. To do this, we have to wait for the starting of the new structural materials industries now under construction, because the housing problem is, undoubtedly, one of the social needs which, owing to its volume and magnitude, will take our Revolution more time to solve.

Two important road projects are now under construction: the National Highway, a modern road which will establish a link across the island from Pinar del Río to Santiago de Cuba, and the reconstruction and modernization of our Central Railroad. Both projects will provide our country with fast and safe communications which we could not hope for under capitalism.



In 1959, out of a total of 300 townships with a population of over 1,000, only 114 had water mains, and very few had sewerage systems. The Revolution has invested over 100 million pesos in these services. Today, there are 239 townships with water mains and 38 with sewerage systems.

Structural materials production has increased considerably, but still falls short of our country's growing needs.

Two modern cement plants have been built and some of the existing ones enlarged, which has tripled our capacities. Fourteen modern plants for the production of aggregates, and many other structural materials industries have been installed. The prefabrication industry for mechanizing construction has developed markedly in this period. Before the Revolution, there were three small plants in Cuba which hardly produced 15,000 cu m a year. We now have 93 plants, with an annual output of over one million cu m.

The amount of equipment has also increased in a remarkable way. In 1959, there were 5,000 construction equipment units, with an estimated value of 55 million pesos; we now have 38,000 basic equipment units worth 430 million pesos.

The Revolution has created a remarkable constructive force. Our country now has 33 big and medium industrial construction brigades, 16 big brigades for dam construction, 24 ordinary brigades for irrigation and drainage construction, 7 for well-drilling, 48 for water works in urban areas, 9 for dock construction, 9 for harbor dredging, 13 for railways, 161 for roads and highways, 43 for motorways, 47 for bridges, 46 for paving, 49 for housing, 42 for various public works, which includes day-care centers, hospitals, hotels, etc., 121 for schools and 215 for agricultural construction. To this should be added 1,150 mini-brigades for housing construction.

Indeed, the revolutionary leadership can hardly find the time to attend all the ceremonies held to mark the

opening of the numerous projects being completed in the country.

Our construction workers have done solidarity work in other countries. In 1971 and 1972, an internationalist brigade built six rural hospitals donated by the Cuban people to Peru, after the earthquake which hit that brother-country.

Our Ho Chi Minh internationalist contingent has completed numerous projects in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as a contribution to that heroic country's rehabilitation. Other peoples, such as those of Guinea and Tanzania, have also received help from our builders. The builders' work has been invested with extraordinary dignity. Our revolutionary society fully appreciates their valuable effort. At present, thousands of Cuban women are being involved in this activity to forge the future, to which they never had access under capitalism.

### *Transport and Communications*

Despite the fact that all our country's imports and exports must be transported by sea, there were not even the rudiments of a Merchant Marine when the Revolution triumphed. Proximity to the United States, with which most of our foreign trade was carried on, together with the interests of US export and import corporations in using their own shipping and warehouses sited in their own country, resulted in a total lack of interest in developing port installations and, of course, in forming a Cuban fleet.

In 1958, there were only 14 ships with 58,000 tons dw assigned to international traffic. At present, we have 51 ships, including modern freighters, refrigerator ships, container carriers and bulk carriers, totalling 550,000 tons dw.

The capacity of the coastal fleet has risen from 16,000 tons in 1959 to 97,000 tons in 1975.

Investments have likewise been made in our ports, mainly in equipment, and also in construction and reconstruction. In Havana, Matanzas and other parts of the country, bulk freight capacities have also been increased, offering the possibility of exporting up to 4 million tons of sugar annually through this system.

The introduction of floating cranes for harbor operations, mobile cranes, several types of fork lifts and other technical equipment has made for better cargo handling in the ports.

Since 1965, the emphasis has been on stimulating various modes of standardized cargo. This has made it possible to use the pallet system in the country's main ports. It is expected that 100,000 MT of imports will be handled by this method this year. On the other hand, a provisional zone has been established in the port of Havana for handling containers with conventional equipment and specialized devices. This system will make it possible to raise the level of importation to 90,000 gross MT.

As a result of these measures and of the intense labor effort of the port workers, the volume of dry cargo handled in our ports has increased from 7.5 million tons in 1963 to 12.4 million tons in 1975.

The greatest attention, however, should be paid to the ports in the period ahead, especially in regard to installing new capacities, for they are still insufficiently developed and are a weak element of the economy.

Prior to the Revolution, land transportation facilities did not escape the interests of national and foreign capitalist enterprises either. Moreover, this branch was also one of the main sources of embezzlement, profit and enrichment for the rulers, which repeatedly shocked our people and provoked significant protest and denunciation movements against onerous concessions to foreign capital and repeated and scandalous frauds.

For decades, no significant investments were made to modernize the railroad system. The few roads and

highways were not properly distributed geographically; many of them were built to favor the privileged and the bulk of the imported motor transport were privately owned vehicles.

The Revolution has worked to reorganize this important activity. A railroad maintenance plan was undertaken for the railroad system. In 1964, 80 locomotives were bought in the USSR, France and Britain, and from 1967 to 1969, 70 more locomotives and over 2,500 freight cars were purchased in the socialist camp.

The Cándido González Technological Railroad Institute opened in 1965. This was a solid first step toward railroad technical and professional advancement and specialization.

Preliminary studies for the railroad development program began in 1969-1970, and the main investment, which is to go into reconstruction and modernization of the central railroad, is already under way.

After nationalizing the land transportation enterprises, we found that the available facilities had almost entirely come from the United States. This sector was harshly hit by the criminal US imperialist blockade, having to go through hard years of shortages of spare parts and a lack of all kinds of equipment, while the purchase of new transportation facilities was rendered difficult. Utmost efforts had to be made to keep the existing equipment in working order.

From 1959 to 1974, despite the difficulties, more than 60,000 trucks were imported, both for public service transportation and for technological and specialized transportation in the various sectors of the economy.

Many investments have been made and installations put up for the overhaul of vehicles, engines, etc.

A specialization process was begun recently at operational bases according to truck make, type and service characteristics, with a view to making better use of these vehicles.

The state motor transportation enterprises have played an important role in meeting the needs of freight carriage which arose from economic growth and which could not be handled by the railroads.

In 1961, a state bus enterprise was set up. This started a service reorganization process aimed at the better use of bus equipment and installations. Due to the poor conditions of the equipment and the lack of spare parts, many vehicles that were unsafe for passenger transport had to be withdrawn from service.

Despite imperialist pressures, 800 Leyland and 101 Pegaso buses for urban transportation service in Havana and 131 Leyland coaches for inter-province transportation were imported in 1964, 1965 and 1966, besides those imported from the socialist camp, making a total of 1,899. Later, 2,481 others were added for urban and highway services, and 1,082 for rural transportation.

The mobility of the population has increased at a fast rate. In 1962, the annual figure for highway travel was 14.3 trips per inhabitant and, in 1974, 40 trips per inhabitant. This increase was due to the advances of the revolutionary process:

- in eliminating unemployment;
- involving women in labor;
- increasing educational, sports and recreational activities, etc.;
- opening new roads to zones formerly lacking in communications;
- raising living standards and the people's purchasing power.

When the Revolution triumphed, rural transportation services were practically nonexistent. Because of the lack of communications in the rural zones, the sick could not be transported to hospital and died through lack of medical care. In March 1963, the organization of mountain transport services in Oriente with the use of dual and triple-drive coaches ushered in a

period in which the whole transportation system began to improve.

One of the most significant steps taken in this sector is the initiation and development of the national manufacture of Girón buses, requiring imported chassis, which has met the growing transportation needs of schools, work centers and other public services in rural zones and, since last year, in the cities as well.

Before the Revolution, a considerable portion of the country's foreign exchange was spent on the purchase of automobiles and spare parts. Following the triumph of the Revolution, barely 2,000 cars were imported in the decade from 1960 to 1970, and funds were devoted basically to purchasing tractors, locomotives, trucks, buses, and equipment for economic development and other public services. In the past two years a contract was signed with Argentina for the purchase of several thousand cars, to be used exclusively for public services as taxis, which function in almost all the regions of the country, for hospitals, and for sale to technicians to help them increase the productivity and efficiency of their work. A certain number of cars are being imported from the Soviet Union and are essentially intended for state services. No other country in this hemisphere, not even the most underdeveloped and economically poor, has pursued such a sober and rigorous policy in this field.

In air transport, the imperialist blockade was felt not only because of the lack of aircraft components and spare parts, equipment and navigation aids, but also because of the exodus of pilots and technicians induced by the US Government.

Still, in 1974 passenger transportation had already surpassed the 1958 figures 3.7 times for national, and 2.1 times for international flights.

With the cooperation of the Soviet Union, the number of aircraft was restored and increased, and conditions were created for their operation.

In these revolutionary years, radio, mail, telephone

and telegraph communications have also been transformed.

The telegraph services have been modernized, and the number of access centers to these and the mail services has been increased. Radio broadcasting covers almost the entire country. In 1959, installed transmitter power came to 350 kw, over 60 per cent of this in Havana. At present, there are over 100 transmitters with a total power of 900 kw, 30 per cent of this in the capital city.

The electronics industry, based on the study-work conception, has begun to develop in two production areas, one at the Eduardo García Delgado and Julio A. Mella Electronics Institutes, the other at the V. I. Lenin Vocational School.

A modern ground station for relay communications via satellite has been constructed with the assistance of the USSR and the first programs have already been broadcast.

Modern facilities have extended telephone communications not only to many cities in the country, but also to many rural areas, to new towns built by the Revolution, to secondary schools in the countryside, to technological institutes, polytechnical institutes, and to the Isla de Pinos, where a modern automated exchange has been installed.<sup>7</sup>

The work done in postage stamp printing has also been outstanding. The stamps are not only of a high standard and philatelic value, but have also become a means of our people's cultural advancement.

### *Foreign Trade*

Shortly after the victory of the Revolution, a radical change took place in foreign trade. This activity had been in the hands of national and foreign capitalist firms. Around 70 per cent of the foreign trade had been with the United States.

For a short period private importers and exporters continued to operate, although foreign-trade control had been established by the National Bank of Cuba. When the Bank of Foreign Trade was set up in 1960, it took over all the state's imports.

The Ministry of Foreign Trade was set up by Act 964 of 1961, to be the only organism authorized to conduct foreign trade.

The rigid and criminal Yankee blockade imposed upon our people forced us hastily to seek new sources of raw materials, foodstuffs, medicines and equipment, and at the same time new markets for our products. As a result, the distance that our imports and exports had to cover increased fivefold.

Those were hard years for our Homeland. Only our workers' firm and dedicated resolve, and their efforts and creative initiative, together with the Soviet Union's generous assistance, prevented any production activity from being paralyzed and the country economically stifled.

Trade with Cuba was suspended by all the countries of this hemisphere, with the exception of Canada and Mexico, which maintained trade at least formally. The great majority of the European countries also joined in this disgraceful measure. Now and again, even when the money was available, no spare parts, transport facilities or even foodstuffs could be obtained for our people, and on many occasions, when these were obtained, the suppliers took advantage of the blockade to fix exorbitant prices.

Credits on easy terms granted to other underdeveloped countries were cut off for our country by the international organizations which in one way or another were under the rigid control of Yankee imperialism.

But the consolidation of the Cuban Revolution, its prestige and precision with which it honored its commercial and financial commitments, gradually helped to breach the economic blockade and open up

opportunities for foreign trade with many countries.

In the revolutionary period, the country has achieved a growth rate of 7 per cent a year in trade turnover, although the rise has not been smooth, the most rapid growth having been attained between 1970 and 1974. This trade has developed fundamentally with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Cuba's foreign trade turnover in 1974 was 2.9 times greater than in 1958, and 3.5 times greater than in 1959-1961.

A permanent policy of austerity has been pursued on imports, which have undergone considerable structural changes, especially the imports of luxury goods. Our resources have been mainly used for imports essential for our people's nutrition and health, and for promoting the country's economic development.

Regarding exports, no significant changes have taken place, for sugar still makes up more than 75 per cent of our total exports, even after new export lines have been developed and others increased.

Nowadays Cuba has commercial agencies in 29 countries and trades with more than 80.

### *Banking*

The National Bank of Cuba was set up by Act 13 of December 30, 1948, and started its operations on April 27, 1950, with purely bourgeois purposes.

With the triumph of the Revolution and the appointment of the first revolutionary Bank president, Major Ernesto Che Guevara, the organism was radically transformed into a true instrument for defending the national interests and building the new society.

Through the Bank the drain of foreign exchange effected by the bourgeoisie and the foreign companies was halted, and the currency exchange took place, which dealt the counter-revolution a hard blow, and

when the organism took over all banking operations in the country in 1961, the service was extended to all regions and the conditions were created for centralizing monetary resources and developing financial planning. In those years, and through the most strict fulfillment of our financial obligations, under the most difficult conditions, the Bank won solid prestige internationally, eloquent proof of which was the presence of representatives of over 200 of the most important banking institutions of the world in Havana at ceremonies to mark the Bank's 25th anniversary last October.

Today, bank workers are engaged in fulfilling the tasks the Five-Year Plan requires of them, in creating the conditions and raising their technical skill for assuming the functions the Bank should discharge in the process of perfecting the methods and direction and control systems of economic management.

### *Domestic Trade*

When the Revolution took over, the prevailing feature of domestic trade was the anarchic proliferation of tens of thousands of small distribution and service establishments, constituting the base of a pyramid of profiteering weighing heavily on the backs of the people. Parallel with this small-scale commerce, US commercial-monopoly chains invaded the country, but they only managed to set up a few dozen supermarkets and department stores in Havana and some of the principal cities in the interior.

According to the last census of the pre-revolutionary period, in 1953, there were more than 60,000 distribution centers and 46,000 commercial service centers. In spite of their large number, some regions in the country, rural zones especially, lacked commercial facilities, since they were regions holding out no promise of profit which was the chief motif for this activity.

The Revolution transformed domestic trade by turning private profit-making business into the people's instrument for the most just and equitable distribution of foodstuffs. From the early months of revolutionary power some measures were taken to fight profiteering, hoarding and speculation in the prime necessities. Domestic commercial stores and enterprises were gradually turned into state property through a process that began with the recovery of embezzled assets and was immediately followed by the nationalization of US enterprises and the stores run by Cuban owners who had fled the country; this process culminated in the total elimination of private retail trade through the 1968 Revolutionary Offensive.

As a first step, INRA set up marketing departments to conduct this activity and to extend trade to the deprived rural areas; these measures paved the way for establishing a Ministry of Domestic Trade in 1964.

The liberating Revolution forever ended the starvation imposed on the vast poor majority of our population by the capitalist regime, eliminated unemployment, did away with the miserable wages, with social insecurity, with the lack of education and culture, and with the lack or unavailability of medical care, which every year doomed thousands of our children, as well as men and women, to a death that could have easily been avoided. But at the same time, together with the rise in the purchasing power of the entire people and other measures to benefit the broad masses, in a poor and economically backward country, with the additional difficulties created by the hostility of imperialism, it became a matter of elementary justice to introduce a rationing system that would guarantee the equitable distribution of food and other essential goods.

The alternative to rationing was an exorbitant rise of prices, which would have put essentials beyond the reach of lower income families. Capitalism operates the most ruthless and inequitable rationing by means of

unemployment, prices and the lack of purchasing power on the part of the poor strata. The store windows are full of tempting articles, but the poor cannot afford to buy them, and have access only to a minimum of essential goods by selling their labor power to the capitalists on onerous terms, whenever they can find a job.

The Revolution has invariably followed the policy of not affecting lower income families by increasing the prices of essentials. Accordingly, prices have been stable for such products or services as meat, milk, bread, sugar, eggs, rice, lard, potatoes, medicines, urban transport and so on, the prices of which have multiplied many times over in the capitalist countries in the past 10 or 15 years as a result of the runaway inflation.

But apart from the limitations in direct distribution, to which we have been subject at this stage, our people have not ceased gradually to raise their social consumption levels by means of workers' and school dining-rooms, scholarship schemes, and day-care centers, whose benefits have been extended progressively to millions of persons.

Since 1971, together with our economic recovery process, the work methods of trade and service activities have been modified, with the gradual introduction of more flexibility in the sale of rationed products, which includes the sale of products through the so-called parallel market, and a considerable broadening of the sale of electrical household appliances and other consumer durables, in whose distribution, when there is not enough of them to meet the demand, the just class principle has been followed of granting priority to the best workers, selected with the participation of the masses of workers at each work center.

Over the past four years, this method has been used to distribute large numbers of TV sets, refrigerators, sewing machines, washing machines and other durables.

In other items, we have achieved production or

import levels satisfying consumer demand, gradually limiting the distribution area in which rationing is still necessary for essentials whose sales are still insufficient to meet the growing needs of the population, by establishing an unrationed market with prices everyone can afford.

Thirty-eight new supermarkets have been built and are in operation, and 20 others are under construction. Some advances have similarly been achieved in enlarging the technical facilities for commercial systems (refrigeration, electronics and others).

Although in this first five-year period we cannot as yet undertake the transformation and complete modernization of our commercial network, we must advance, above all, in perfecting the methods of distribution, achieving greater efficiency and better use of resources; we must contribute to maintaining the internal financial balance between the population's incomes and the goods and services available; we must introduce self-service systems, wherever possible, to facilitate and speed up the sale of consumer goods; we must maintain and improve the technical basis for providing commercial services, and establish, according to the country's material possibilities, new commercial units, parallel with developing new communities.

All these factors are of great importance in raising our people's living standards and, especially, in easing the burden that today falls mainly upon our female population, requiring their time and efforts, so as to enable them to play a greater part in the Revolution's economic and social activity.

### *Tourism*

Our country's natural wealth and geographic attractions, with their possibilities of being developed for the people's leisure, were not put to good use before the Revolution triumphed.

Tourism was in private hands and any investments were centered mainly in Havana, where the installations of foreign and Cuban anti-social elements were concentrated, so favoring them through their gambling centers in all manner of criminal activities.

In spite of this, tourism did not benefit the country's economy, except only in three of the ten years prior to 1959. An average of 10 million dollars was lost annually: the Cuban bourgeoisie spent more on travels abroad than the tourists spent in Cuba.

In 1957, there were 272,000 tourists in our country, 85 per cent of them being US tourists attracted by the denigrating propaganda which pictured Havana as a dazzling center of pleasure, gambling and corruption.

While the foreign tourists enjoyed the existing scanty facilities, there were no recreational facilities for our people, who had no access to the beaches, many of which were private and totally banned for the masses.

With the triumph of the Revolution, an end was put to the corrupt tourism, together with its gambling and vice.

In February 1959, the Department of People's Beaches was established, and in March, Act 270 proclaimed the full right of the people to enjoy the use of all the beaches, thus eradicating exclusiveness and discrimination. In November 1959, the National Institute of the Tourist Industry was set up to promote and develop tourism and manage the abandoned or nationalized units. A catering network grew up with the progress of the Revolution.

The nationalization of hotels and the main recreational facilities made them available to the people.

Fifty million pesos have been invested in tourist facilities, of which 15 million went into the public beaches in the initial years.

New recreational centers, motels and numerous sites of natural beauty have been opened for the enjoyment of the workers and the people in general.



Through a joint plan with the CTC alone, 50,000 workers' nuclei, comprising from 250,000 to 300,000 workers and their families, enjoy vacation plans, in addition to hundreds of thousands of others who likewise have the use of these facilities in other ways.

In the past few years, international tourism, after having virtually disappeared, has shown a slight increase, with a composition and quality quite different from the past. The tourists who visit us in the future will have to be a healthy flow of visitors eager to enjoy our natural attractions, or to witness the social changes that have taken place in our Homeland. An estimated total of over half a million tourists is expected to come during the next five years, especially in the winter season. This will ensure better use of our facilities.

Within the next five years, the hotel construction plan will have been fulfilled. The 14 hotels already being built will enlarge capacities and services essentially for domestic tourism.

### *Reflections on the Economy*

When we started our revolutionary activity and the concrete problems were confined to overthrowing the tyranny, taking over power and eradicating the country's unjust social system, the tasks ahead in the economic field appeared to be much simpler. In reality, we were highly ignorant in this field. The problems that the country was to face, starting with the high degree of underdevelopment of the productive forces, the scarcity of natural resources, the dependence on agriculture and foreign trade, the lack of technical and administrative cadres, the social upheavals and innumerable outstanding social needs, to all of which should be added the ferocious imperialist blockade, proved to be far more difficult than we could have imagined.

Furthermore, we live in a world where a large part of the trade of the underdeveloped countries is carried on with Western capitalist countries. These are the traditional buyers of our raw materials and products who dictate the brutally unfair terms of trade. Exporters of coffee, sugar, cacao, tea, solid ores and other products have to sell their goods at ever lower prices, and buy machinery, materials and equipment from the developed capitalist world at ever higher prices.

The increasingly acute crisis in this sector of the world economy also greatly affects the economies of other non-industrialized countries. The problems of oil and energy, with their present exorbitant prices, make the situation much more complicated. The socialist camp does not yet have the productive and trade capacity to offset the destructive effects of this situation on the economies of the underdeveloped countries.

In short, our economic program for the coming five years is being worked out in the midst of an acute economic crisis that affects a large part of the world. Our sugar production, which has secured satisfactory and remunerative prices in the Soviet Union—a country to which we export a sizeable part of our sugar output—does not enjoy the same conditions with regard to a similarly large share that we have necessarily to sell to the capitalist area. Prices, which a year ago were as high as 60 centavos a pound, are now below 14 centavos a pound, that is, less than 25 per cent of the earlier price. It is impossible to make any exact forecasts concerning the possible evolution of prices in the next five years. Apart from nickel, tobacco and marine products—which make up a small share of our foreign-exchange earnings—sugar accounts for most of our convertible currency earnings.

After the Congress, our country will have a Five-Year Plan for economic development for the first time. As the basis of this plan, we know exactly how much sugar we will be sending to the USSR in this five-year period, at what prices, and which consumer

goods, raw materials, and producer goods will be coming in from that country. In more or less similar terms, we also know how much sugar will be exported to other socialist countries, the goods to be received in return, and the prices of both. However, the prices of sugar exports and those of the goods that we must buy in the capitalist countries remain unknown.

In general, we aspired to elaborate a rather ambitious economic plan for the coming five years, because we are aware of the many needs we have and of the marvellous things we could do if it depended only on our will, our energy and our creative effort. We fervently want our people to have many more houses than those we are currently building, more schools, hospitals, day-care centers, means of transportation, cultural and recreational centers, consumer durables, garments, food, etc. Of course, we want many more industrial enterprises and productive facilities in the cities and in the countryside, because they constitute the material basis for the people's living standards. The stability and the development of our economy also allow us to make a greater contribution to international solidarity and to the world revolutionary movement. We wish, at the same time, to have the fullest and earliest triumph of the construction of socialism in our country.

But no people can advance beyond the constraints set by the objective factors. And another thing: not only our country, but the world as a whole is beginning to face formidable obstacles in the limited availability of traditional energy resources, the gradual depletion of mineral reserves, environmental pollution, the marked population growth, whose subsistence is already critical in some areas, and the shortage of food. Naturally, these problems are aggravated by the uneven development of the nations, the fabulous squandering and waste of natural resources by capitalist consumer societies. They have instilled in the minds of large human communities material life patterns, habits and

usages inherent in the social system they represent—where the superfluous predominates over the essential, the mercantile and exploiting spirit rules everything and man is brutally alienated and morally ruined—all of which is incompatible with the rational and adequate solution of the material and spiritual problems of the human being. Such habits also clash with the relatively limited resources that nature and its environment provide man with, above all when one thinks in terms of a just and equitable distribution of the benefits of civilization and progress of all mankind.

Thousands of millions of human beings still live in the greatest misery, without electricity, running water, medical care, they are in need of clothes, shoes, food, adequate housing and education, while a handful of developed capitalist countries squander more than 50 per cent of the world's resources. That is why capitalist societies can never provide the material life pattern for an advanced social community. Neither will there be any solution to these disquieting human problems, except on the basis of socialism on a world scale.

If the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin had not truly proved that the capitalist social system was historically doomed to disappear as a result of the operation of the laws governing the evolution of human society, one could arrive at the same conclusion by a simple arithmetical and logical analysis of the world's limited natural resources, population growth, the waste and disorder inherent in capitalist society, the inescapable consequences of and the need for rational solutions of mankind's pressing problems.

We would be deceiving our people if we got them to believe that, once masters of our own destiny in the economic and social spheres and free of imperialist tutelage, our society's access to wealth and abundance would know no bounds.

The first constraint is set by the natural resources of the physical environment where our people live, to

which is added the agricultural basis from which we start, the cultural and technological development achieved, and the objective and subjective difficulties of the world we live in.

But there is also a moral constraint: even if this were possible, a people cannot afford only to think about its material welfare, disregarding the problems and difficulties of the other peoples of the world.

In the moulding of our communist consciousness, the raising of the material standard of living is, and should be, our people's fair and noble goal, to be attained through dedicated effort, in the natural environment in which we live. But at the same time, we should be aware that this environment is limited, that each gram of wealth has to be wrested from nature by effort; that material goods are created to satisfy the real and reasonable needs of the human being; that superfluous needs should be discarded and that our society cannot be guided by the absurd concepts, habits and deviations with which the decadent capitalist production system has infected the world.

This becomes even more reasonable, considering that our country took off from great poverty, the masses lacking in the most vital essentials. That is why we should never give way to excessive ambitions, out of line with our Revolution's real possibilities and moral principles.

Socialism means not only material enrichment but also the opportunity to create a great volume of cultural and spiritual wealth for the people, to mould a man capable of deep feelings of human solidarity, and free from the selfishness and meanness that vilify and debase the individual under capitalism.

We should never encourage a squandering spirit, or the egotism of owning what we do not reasonably need, or the vanity of luxury and unwholesome appetites. We should never allow ourselves to fall into the vulgar mentality and stupid vanities of capitalist consumer societies that are ruining the world. Our duty

is to concentrate all our energies and means—which are limited—on the creation, with due priorities, of the wealth and the services that will ensure a gradual improvement of our people's material and cultural basis, while allowing us to think, act and fulfill our obligations as citizens of a new world.

### *Economic Development in the Coming Five-Year Period*

By analyzing our possibilities realistically, it is proposed to the Congress that our economic development over the next five years should proceed at an annual average rate of about 6 per cent. This is not an exaggerated figure, it is even below the rates of the 1971-1975 period. But our basis is already higher. Six per cent of 100 is not the same as 6 per cent of 160. This means that our 1980 gross social product is to be 34 per cent higher than that of 1975. In only eleven years, the country's economy will have doubled.

It should also be taken into account that, according to socialist methodology, only material production is considered in the growth percentages. Services, like education and public health, are not included in the gross social product, as is the practice in the capitalist countries. Otherwise, our growth estimates up to now and in the coming five-year period would be much higher, for the abundant resources and the material and human investment that the Revolution has made into these activities are well known.

The possibility of achieving such growth in the next five-year period in a world situation in which many countries—excluding the socialist countries—are in a state of stagnation or declining economic production is highly satisfactory for our Revolution.

The basis on which the Five-Year Plan is to be formulated is laid down in the Directives for economic development in the five years from 1976 to 1980, which will be submitted to the Congress. Let us add

that these have been drawn up on a conservative basis, and that they are soberly based on realistic possibilities.

The Preparatory Commission of the Congress has taken much care to seeing that all the commitments made by the Party are fulfilled. At any rate, an effort is to be made to have the objectives overfulfilled rather than taking the risk of having any decisions adopted by the Congress later unfulfilled. The Party's word should be sacrosanct, and we all have the duty of seeing that that is so.

In the coming five-year period, the industrialization process in the country is to be significantly accelerated. During the first years of the Revolution, there was no other alternative but to concentrate on agricultural production. At this stage, the closest attention is to be given to agriculture, but the main emphasis is to be on industrialization. Contracts have already been signed for most of the factories to be set up in this period, and the rest are being negotiated. This industrialization program falls short of solving many of our difficulties, but it will mean an important advance.

Among the other objectives, the Directives include a 35-40 per cent increase in sugar production, to attain, by 1980, stable volumes of production between 8 and 8.7 million tons of sugar. It will be seen that this is a lower target, but it is much more realistic than the one we set ourselves in the previous decade for 1970. Pertinent investment is to be made to restore, consolidate and enlarge the installed facilities, including the reconstruction of several sugar mills and the construction of new sugar cane facilities.

Ten plants for the production of proteins from molasses for animal feeds, with an approximate capacity of 10,000 tons each, are to be completed. The system of mechanical bulk and sack handling of sugar is to be completed. The program for automating the production process is to be continued, and productivity in this branch is to go up by more than 40 per cent.

The generation of electric power is to rise by over 35 per cent. New thermoelectric power units, with a total capacity of 900,000 kw, at present under construction or under contract, are to be put into operation. In only five years, the capacity of new facilities is to be almost three times those existing before the Revolution.

The national electric power grid is to be linked up by means of 220,000-volt lines. Construction of the first 880,000 kw atomic power station is to be undertaken, and this has been guaranteed by an agreement with the USSR.

In the chemical industry, oil-refining capacities are to be enlarged, and a start made on the construction of a new refinery.

The production of nitrogen fertilizers is to increase considerably, and work on the construction of a new plant is to begin.

The production of new glass containers is to be expanded, and a new factory with greater capacity built.

Paper production is to increase, and its quality improved. Existing plants are to be enlarged, and the construction of a new combine, with a capacity of 60,000 tons of pulp and 80,000 tons of paper, will be undertaken.

Tire production is to be raised, and a new large-capacity factory built.

The two existing nickel plants are to be remodelled and their capacity increased, and two new 30,000-ton plants are to be built under the agreements already concluded, one with the USSR and the other with the CMEA.

The output of non-ferrous metallurgy is to go up by at least 90 per cent.

The production of corrugated steel bars for construction and other purposes is to grow by 75 per cent, for which the necessary investments are already being made.

Technical and economic studies will be supplemented, and work will start on the construction of an integrated iron and steel plant. A 45 per cent increase in labor productivity is to be achieved in ferrous metallurgy.

A modern plant for the production of agricultural implements is to be completed, and a sugar cane combine plant is to be put into operation to reach a capacity of 600 units a year.

In the five-year period, it is planned to manufacture 9,000 buses in the two existing plants, and to increase the production of other means of transportation.

Investments will be made to achieve a production capacity of 100,000 TV sets and 300,000 radios a year.

Two large modern cement factories will be completed and put into operation, thus raising its production to over 5 million tons.

The production of structural materials and prefabricated elements is to be doubled.

Three new modern textile mills, two of them already under contract, are to be built, and the existing capacity is to be considerably increased through enlargement and modernization.

New facilities are soon to be put into operation in the furniture industry.

New milk pasteurizing plants and yogurt processing plants are to be built.

Two new flour mills are to be built and put into operation during the period.

Seven candy factories, already purchased by the country, a glucose factory and various others for producing oatmeal, cornflakes and corn flour, are soon to be started.

By 1980, the fish-catch capacity is to go up to 350,000 tons, or double the present figure.

The fish-processing industry is to be mechanized and its output considerably increased with the installation of a newly contracted plant processing up to 60,000 tons a year.

Some new wood-board factories are to be set up, with sugar cane bagasse as the main raw material.

Two modern printing works are to be built and put into operation.

This enumeration does not include all the projects in the industrial field, although the most important ones are included, several of them are already being implemented or have been contracted. As before special attention is to be given to agriculture. In the next five years, no less than a million hectares of new land, including artificial pastures, are to be cultivated. Labor productivity is to increase by 35 per cent over that of 1975.

Sugar cane supplies have to correspond to the above-mentioned sugar production. This means that the plantation area has to be increased to 1,700,000 hectares, or almost 127,000 *caballerías*. By 1980, 60 per cent of the sugar cane-cutting has to be mechanized. Cane planting for the new mills is to begin.

The citrus program is to be carried forward.

Rice areas are to be consolidated and developed, special attention being given to technical matters, so as to ensure that most of the population's consumption is met from national production.

Tobacco production is to be increased, and a program to improve the coffee plantations is to be carried out.

By 1980, fruit and vegetable production is to reach 1,500,000 tons, that is, almost 50 per cent more than in 1975.

By that date milk production is to be raised by 80 per cent over that of 1975.

Cattle-raising is to be developed, its structure improved and the number of productive cows increased.

Poultry is to turn out 2,000 million eggs a year, and the volume of poultry offered for sale is to go up by approximately 85 per cent over the present 40,000-ton level.

Pig-breeding is to reach 80,000 tons live weight, almost double the present figure. Much attention is to

be paid to technical matters: seed quality, veterinary service efficiency, plant protection, soil study and agrochemical laboratories.

The country's growing water resources are to be used in the most rational way possible, on the basis of proper exploitation of dams, dikes, wells and irrigation systems.

Reafforestation is to continue.

In transportation, one of the tasks is to be the blanket standardization of freight. Passenger transportation by rail is to be increased and improved with new equipment. Steps are to be taken to achieve the best possible service by the various transport facilities. Maritime transport and port operation requirements stemming from the foreign and sugar trade are to be met with new port facilities and enlargement and mechanization of the country's main ports. The carriage of inland freight is to be extended. Between 900 and 1,000 km of the Havana-Santiago de Cuba railway is to be rebuilt to meet speed, efficiency and safety requirements of the country. The air freight service is to be enlarged.

Great advances are to be made with the laying of 1,800 km of coaxial cable to improve and ensure our internal communications. The telephone network is to be extended, and color television introduced.

In keeping with our economic programs, investment and construction are to increase considerably. Total investments are, at least, to be double the figure for the previous five-year period, approximately three quarters are to go into the productive field. Hundreds of industrial projects are to be carried out. Over one thousand agricultural projects are to be realized: dairy farms, pig-breeding centers, poultry farms, etc. Hydraulic construction is to be continued at the fastest possible pace.

To further educational development, no less than 800 school facilities are to be built in the 1975-1980 period to accommodate at least 400,000 students at the

intermediate educational level, and also numerous facilities for higher education, hundreds of primary schools and day-care centers, and various scientific facilities.

In 1980, at least twice as many houses are to be built as in 1975. In that period, over 100 new hospitals and polyclinics are likewise to be built.

Work is to be undertaken to develop our ports.

The construction of the national highway and the highway and road network is to be continued. Work on the infrastructure and the building of additional railroads for the Central Railroad System is to be completed.

The construction of a network of warehouses for the national economy is to be started.

The necessary humanitarian facilities, such as homes for the aged and the physically handicapped, and special schools for mentally retarded children, are to be included in the construction work program.

The construction of hotels, which started during the preceding five-year period, and commercial facilities, movie houses, theaters, libraries, sports centers and other social amenities, which the country needs, although not given priority because of our limited resources, are also to be envisaged in the construction plan on a modest scale. In this period, educational facilities, hospitals, polyclinics and day-care centers are to account for the bulk of our construction plan for public building projects. We are sure that after 1980 the country will have the means to give an adequate impetus to the afore-mentioned projects.

Construction works are also to include aqueduct and sewage development to improve the present network and to start new ones.

The maintenance of the country's economic and social facilities should be given the utmost attention.

The principle will be to give top priority to industrial and economic projects in general.

Industrial development is to be a highly important element in the five-year period. The investments already planned in this field are to amount to 3,877,700,000 pesos. Of this sum, 2,660,500,000 pesos are for deliveries from abroad, 60 per cent of which have already been contracted. Of the total investments, 48 per cent are to be directed into the basic industries sector—a total of 1,868,700,000 pesos, 21 per cent into the consumer goods industries—a total of 796,200,000 pesos, and 14 per cent into the construction sector—a total of 547,800,000 pesos.

In the development of material production and the services, the utmost attention must be given to quality.

We have omitted reference to many other activities, whose enumeration would make this report endless.

It is gratifying to think that our Revolution has created the conditions for these achievements, that in spite of the fact that they have been conceived with the necessary prudence, they are nevertheless outstanding and have the necessary back-up.

### *The Mistakes That Have Been Made*

At this point, however, it is necessary to speak of our mistakes. Revolutions usually have their utopian periods, in which their protagonists, dedicated to the noble task of turning their dreams into reality and putting their ideals into practice, assume that the historical goals are much nearer, and that men's will, desires and intentions, towering over the objective facts, can accomplish anything. It is not that revolutionaries should have neither dreams nor indomitable will. Without a bit of dream and utopia there would have been no revolutionaries. Now and again, men stop, because they regard as unsurmountable obstacles that are not really such. Our own history shows that the difficulties that appeared to be insuperable could be surmounted. But the revolutionary also has to be

a realist, to act in keeping with historical and social laws, and to draw on the inexhaustible wellspring of political science and universal experience for the knowledge which is indispensable in guiding revolutionary processes. We must also know how to learn from the facts and the realities.

Now and again, the utopian attitude likewise goes hand in hand with a certain contempt for the experience of other processes.

The germ of chauvinism and of the petty-bourgeois spirit infecting those of us who entered upon the ways of revolution by merely intellectual means tends to develop, sometimes unconsciously, some attitudes that may be regarded as self-conceit and excessive self-esteem.

The Cuban Revolution has certainly made some important contributions to the world revolutionary movement. The fact of being the first socialist revolution in the hemisphere bestows upon it a certain historical distinction. These contributions have been made in the field of action, but they have also enriched revolutionary theory by their practice, initiatives and example.

From the outset, however, the Cuban Revolution failed to take advantage of the rich experience of other peoples who had undertaken the construction of socialism long before we had. Had we been humbler, had we not overestimated ourselves, we would have been able to understand that revolutionary theory was not sufficiently developed in our country and that we actually lacked solidly grounded Marxist economists and scientists to be able to make any really significant contribution to the theory and practice of socialist construction; we would have searched with a modesty befitting revolutionaries for everything that could be learned from these sources and applied in our country's specific conditions.

This certainly did not imply any renunciation of a cool analysis of the specific characteristics of our situation and our economy so as to apply what is use-



ful and to reject what is not in each case. It was not a matter of mere imitation, but of the correct application of many useful experiences in the sphere of economic direction.

Marxism-Leninism is ultimately a science that has enriched itself extraordinarily with the practice of the peoples building socialism. The Cuban revolutionaries can enrich this heritage, but we cannot ignore what others have contributed. Even though our conditions were extremely difficult, what with the economic blockade and the underdevelopment, the intelligent use of this experience would have been a great help.

It is unquestionable that during all these years of the Revolution extraordinary advances have been made. Very ambitious plans have been fulfilled. Much progress has been made in improving the people's welfare, satisfying their needs, implementing a number of projects in the economic infrastructure, and in recent years, this advance has achieved a high pace.

But it is also necessary to admit that in many instances our resources have not been used to the utmost. Our economic management has not been as efficient as it might have been. Not the best possible economic direction methods have been put into practice. Our administrative cadres, on the whole, do not have the required economic knowledge, the required concern for matters regarding costs and production efficiency generally. It is impossible to estimate what this lack of economic awareness has cost us and is costing us in overtime work and excessive inputs of material resources.

In guiding our economy, we have undoubtedly made some idealistic mistakes and have, now and again, ignored the reality of existing objective economic laws by which we must abide.

In the first few years after starting the construction of socialism, two economic direction systems coexisted: budget financing, which covered most of industry, and economic accounting, which was partly introduced in

agriculture, foreign trade and a smaller part of industry.

In order to cope with the 1961 zafra (sugar harvest), it was necessary to establish a central fund for financing this activity. This fund was the embryo of the budget-financing system fostered by Che and applied in industry, which constituted an important effort to establish centralized planning, to elaborate an accounting and statistical economic system, structured down to ground level, to centralize the use of scarce qualified personnel and modern control and administration techniques. This system put particular emphasis on cost control, organisation of productive units with a common technology into consolidated enterprises and guarantees of the strictest administrative control over them.

However, the budget system of financing undoubtedly turned out to be highly centralized and made very restricted use of economic levers, commercial relations and material incentives.

The very nature of agriculture and its great dependence on natural factors made it necessary to give a higher degree of autonomy to the lower levels, which is why it was advisable to set up a system of economic accounting with a lesser degree of centralisation which was done.

Still, agriculture was less than assured of productive resources: subsidies had to be constantly granted from the budget; bank control was very weak; in general, the granting of credit was carried out automatically and there were no incentive funds financed out of the results of the economic activities of the cooperatives. Due to this, the system of economic accounting worked only partially and in a very limited way.

At the beginning of the Revolution, there was some discussion as to which of the two systems was the more adequate. But there was no deep analysis and no decision was adopted, so that both systems coexisted for several years.

The fact is that there was no coherent direction system of the entire economy, and in those circumstances we took the less correct decision—that of inventing a new procedure.

Putting an idealistic interpretation on Marxism and departing from the practical experience of the other socialist countries, we tried to establish our own methods. In consequence, the form of management established was a far cry from the economic accounting in general use in the socialist countries, and from the budget-finance system that was first being tried out in Cuba, together with a new system of economic records, preceded by the elimination of all commercial forms and the abolition of charges and payments between units of the state sector. To some of us this seemed to be too capitalistic, because we failed to understand the need to preserve the forms of commercial relations between state enterprises. In fact, the state budget was eliminated, giving way to the allocation of monetary resources for payrolls, and for credit and purchase-and-sale relations with the private sector.

The payments and receipts were in practice abolished from the second quarter of 1967. At the end of 1967, the new system of economic records was substituted for the existing accounting system.

By the end of 1965, the Ministry of Finance had already been dissolved and the National Bank restructured. The last budget adopted was that for 1967, but its implementation was not controlled, because from the second quarter charges and payments were no longer being made.

Together with these other trends began to develop. The policy of gratuitous relations, which is not justified in some cases, was carried forward in 1967, and reached a peak in 1968 and 1969. In 1968, the connection between salaries and output was severed. Work-hour schedules on the basis of consciousness and renunciation of pay for extra hours worked were stimulated. In 1967, interest on credits and the taxes collected

from farmers were abolished. The last tax, that on cut sugar cane, was abolished on July 7 of that same year.

Failure to take account of remuneration according to work markedly increased the excess currency in circulation against a background of shortages in goods and services, which created favorable conditions for and stimulated absenteeism and lack of labor discipline. Together with the need to eliminate unemployment, to attend to the country's most urgent social and human needs, and to carry on development in the conditions of a blockaded nation, this made it absolutely impossible to avoid having excess of currency in circulation in that period of the Revolution.

When it might have seemed as though we were drawing nearer to communist forms of production and distribution, we were actually pulling away from the correct methods of first building socialism.

The methods applied made no contribution at all to creating economic awareness.

When this system was implemented, our administrative cadres, who had really never had any great experience in economic management or any special concern for costs, ceased to take account of this indicator or of the expenditure of manpower and of material resources, in general, and began to focus attention only on output targets, while, on the other hand, fulfillment or unfulfillment did not in any way affect the factory's collective.

In 1967, studies in the Political Economy of Socialism at the University and the career of Public Accountant were abolished. The enrollment of students at the Institutes of Economics, which during the 1964-1965 academic year came to 4,818 students, dropped to 1,338 students during the 1969-1970 academic year, and it was only during the following year that there was a relative increase.

In this period, mistakes were also made in the political field. In 1962, the phenomenon of sectarianism had

already appeared, but it was analyzed and overcome in due time. At this point, other negative trends appeared:

In 1966, the study of Marxism-Leninism began to decline.

From 1965, some confusion between the functions of the Party and the State began to manifest itself.

Between 1967 and 1970, the Party focussed its attention on the Administration and often substituted for it.

The labor unions ceased to play their role and, especially, starting from the 12th Congress held in 1966, the Vanguard Workers' Movement began to develop and in practice replaced the labor movement.

The role of the mass organizations in general declined.

The fact that our Party had shortcomings at its direction levels influenced the development of these problems, although its membership was militant and enthusiastic and had been steadily growing since its foundation—on the basis of the three organizations which merged their forces—and even though the Central Committee had been set up in 1965. After the criticism of sectarianism, most of the energies went into the building up and development of the ground levels but the Central Committee had virtually no apparatus.

For years the Party's activities had been conducted by the Secretariat of Organization. The Political Bureau actually functioned as the Party's highest authority, but in practice the Central Committee did not exercise its functions. In addition to this, the Bureau—composed of comrades who were in charge of many State functions—considered the most important political questions, but no strictly systematic work was done in the Direction of the Party and the State.

We would not be honest revolutionaries if, when rendering an account of the Revolution, we did not bluntly tell the First Congress of the Party that we were not always capable of discovering the problems

in due time, of avoiding mistakes, of making good omissions and acting absolutely in keeping with the working methods that should guide the direction and the functioning of the Party. Since our people's revolutionary work is to be lasting and since the Party is its most absolute guarantee, it is necessary that the present and future generations of Communists should know that these shortcomings existed and these mistakes were made in the process. In the making of history, independently of the objective laws, we men play a role, and no one can absolve us from the mistakes we may have made. As an illustrious teacher said, truth alone can invest us with the mantle of manhood.

We have pointed out, with the same conviction with which we maintain it, that our organization is already a great Party, courageous and vigorous, forged in the flames of an extraordinary Revolution that has left those difficulties behind it, and that, on the basis of very solid rules and principles, with an iron and rigorous discipline, spotless purity and heroic militancy, will lead our people toward the most dignified and wonderful future. The historic Congress we are now holding is the most eloquent proof of this.

Analyzing the existing situation, we said on May 20, 1970:

"We have to go back to all these questions that were brought out by the criticism of sectarianism: how the Party must work, what mass organizations are, how important they are. For the Party is not a mass organization; the Party is selective, the Party is a vanguard....

"The Party must be a selection of the most determined men, it must try to go on being filled with the best of our working people, and, as it was stated at that time, the Party must attend to and develop the mass organizations, instead of itself becoming a mass organization.

"We must strengthen the political apparatus. The Party does not administrate. It guides, it directs, it

induces, it supports, it guarantees the fulfillment of the plans of the Direction of the Revolution everywhere."

The mistakes which had been made and the lines to follow were set forth before the whole people on July 26, 1970.

On September 28 of that year, emphasizing this question, we said:

"At this moment, we are engaged in a great effort to develop our workers' organizations to the utmost. Because, unfortunately, in the past two years our workers' organizations have fallen behind, and the blame does not fall on the organizations or on the workers, but on us, on the Party, on the political direction of the country....

"This was the result of some idealism; and in this way, by creating an organization, whose importance we do not doubt, the organization of Vanguard Workers, the workers' movement in general was overlooked. There was also some identification of the Party and the Administration, and this complicated the situation....

"And the role of our Party—let this be well understood—cannot and will never be that of replacing the Administration, nor that of replacing the mass organizations, but that of directing this formidable revolution of the masses."

The difficulties were clearly set forth before the people. Important meetings of the Direction of the Party and great national production assemblies were held with the representatives of all the workers and managements.

From 1970 on, an uninterrupted process of advance on all the working fronts of the Revolution was initiated, having these among its most outstanding acts:

The recovery and strengthening of the mass organizations, the labor unions, in the first place.

The strengthening of the Party and the delineation of its functions and those of State and mass organizations.

The strengthening of the State apparatus.

The adjustment of salaries to output rates and other measures resulting from the historical 13th Congress of the CTC, whose impact has become evident.

The minimization of undue gratuity practices and other measures which have helped to bring in order the internal finances.

The partial re-establishment of economic controls and emphasis on accounting and cost cutting.

A start on the reduction of the excess money supply through greater production of consumer goods and services, greater availability of durable goods and higher prices for non-essentials, like alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and cigars.

If, in spite of the shortcomings of the direction system which was established in 1967 and which is still in force, the country has achieved extraordinary economic advances in recent years, this is due basically to the level of consciousness attained by the masses and their boundless enthusiasm, to the strengthening of the Party and State apparatus and of the mass organizations, and to our people's remarkable response to every call issued by the Revolution.

### *The Economy Direction System*

However, the time has come to back up that drive with the implementation of an adequate economic direction system to educate, prepare and teach the people to have an awareness of economic factors which our cadres lack, so as to enable us to attain the highest economic efficiency, one of our main objectives.

The system worked out and being proposed to the Congress is based on the practical experience of all the socialist countries.

This experience has been realistically considered in an effort to adapt it to our conditions. This has been done with great care and on a rather conservative basis.

The proposed system takes into account the operation of economic laws that govern socialist construction, and that exist independently of our will and desires. Among these laws is the law of value, the need to have receipt-and-payment relations among all the enterprises, including those of the State, and that in these relations and in the various economic relations in general, money, prices, finances, budget, taxes, credits, interest and other commercial categories should function as indispensable instruments, to enable us to estimate the use we make of our productive resources and to determine, in the minutest detail, to the last centavo, how much we put into each one of our products; to decide which investment is the most advantageous; to learn which enterprises, which units, which collectives of workers perform best, and which perform worst, and so be able to adopt the appropriate measures.

In addition, this system will show which enterprises produce over and above their production inputs, and which do not. For society, the development of vital activities, like education and health, which take up a great deal of material resources but do not turn out material goods, depends on the enterprises producing over and above their inputs. Cultural, recreational, defense and other needs also depend on such enterprises, everything that is financed from the budget. In addition, the economic development of the country depends on them.

The enterprises producing over and above their inputs are the ones that operate with profit, with profitability. And as an incentive for their performance, the system envisages that a part of that contribution to the national economy should remain in the hands of the collective of workers, to be used for solving the social problems of that collective and rewarding the most outstanding workers.

The system also implies a certain autonomy in the use and handling of resources by each enterprise: to

sell or rent out unused fixed assets, to decide to go into marginal production from waste, etc., without modifying their main production plan.

The mere link-up of output rates and salaries starting from the CTC's 13th Congress decisions has brought about remarkable productivity increases in all the centers and sectors where it has been applied.

With the proposed Economy Direction System we seek to boost economic efficiency and the growth of labor productivity, to make available resources yield more than they do at present.

But, under socialism, no system can be a substitute for politics, ideology, and the people's consciousness, because the factors that determine efficiency in a capitalist economy are different, and can never operate under socialism, so that the political aspect, the ideological aspect, and the moral aspect continue to be the crucial factors.

This system is going to help us to organize the economy; it is going to make each one of us keep the control records we have to keep, to promote greater involvement of the workers, and, above all, to spread economic awareness among our political and administrative cadres.

Many of these mechanisms will not, of course, attain absolute efficiency from the outset, owing to the conditions in our economy, the conditions of rationing; thus, the value of material incentives is relative since some things are distributed through rationing. Besides, our country's foreign trade has very special characteristics; we depend on two or three commodities and, above all, on one—sugar—whose prices are very unstable, and all of this creates difficulties.

On the other hand, it must be taken into account that the fact that we base ourselves on the profitability criterion does not mean that we are going to close down any indispensable factories. The profitability criterion shows us which factory is the most backward technologically, which the costliest, into which indust-

ry the investments have to go first; which new industry has to be substituted for another one first; but it does not at all mean that the economy is not going to be planned, that it is not going to have centralized direction, strongly centralized direction, with strong authority in the central organisms, whose main objective is not profit, as it is under capitalism, but satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual requirements.

These are mechanisms designed to improve efficiency, incentive mechanisms contributing to this objective, but we cannot, for a moment, assume that these mechanisms are going to solve all our problems; in no sense does this mean reducing, in whatever form, the Party's role, the State's role in directing these activities, to say nothing of the role of political education and of the ideological education of the masses.

If we assumed for one moment that by merely applying this Economy Direction System the enterprises are going to function smoothly and all our problems are going to be solved, and that, therefore, we can do without ideological work among the masses or that we can do without moral incentives, we would be making a great mistake, because it is absolutely impossible for economic mechanisms and incentives to be as efficient under socialism as they are under capitalism, for the only thing that functions under capitalism is incentive and economic pressure brought to bear with their full force, namely, hunger, unemployment, and so on. Over here, some rather restricted economic incentives function as mechanisms to improve economy efficiency, to provide fair rewards for workers and groups of workers who give more to society through their work and through their effort, but, above all, the functioning of this system will enable the Party, the State and the workers themselves to have a better knowledge of the efficiency with which the productive resources are being used; it will enable all functionaries and all cadres of the Party and the State to be more conscious

of economic factors and so better to prepare themselves for directing the economy, all of which amount to a true economic school.

Together with this, and as a component of the principles upon which the Economy Direction System is based, moral incentives must be amplified, because, while having spoken at great length about moral incentives, we have actually held out only a few. We must raise the role of moral incentives to a much higher level. There is still much to be done in the field of moral incentives and in deepening the consciousness of the masses.

To put the system successfully into practice, the following factors are necessary:

That the leaders of the Party and, above all, of the State, should regard its implementation as a matter of personal concern, and a matter of honor; that they should realize its vital importance and the need to work hard to apply it consistently, in an organized and coordinated manner, always under the direction of the National Commission set up for this purpose.

That the leaders of the State organisms and of the existing enterprises should examine all the structural and functional changes which the State organisms are to undergo in accordance with the requirements of the Direction System, linked to the extension of the organs of people's power and to the implementation of the new Politico-Administrative Direction.

That everyone, without exception, should meet the envisaged deadlines for each task to be accomplished in implementing the Economy Direction System according to what has been contemplated in the Work Schedule for the coming years, which will be submitted for consideration by this First Congress.

To strengthen and develop the organisms which have been recently set up and those still to be set up as components of the institutions required by the implementation of the Economy Direction System: The Committee for Prices, the Technical Materials Supply Com-

mittee, the Ministry of Finance and the Boards of Arbitration.

To train economic cadres for the various levels, and to give the leaders of State, Party and mass organizations, and especially, the managers of enterprises adequate grounding in the necessary economic knowledge. In this sense, to make the Ministry of Education, the University and the Party schools responsible for the systematic training of cadres, and to urge the need for crash courses in the early period, like the one which has now been started and like those which will be started in February.

To disseminate broad knowledge of the System, its principles and its mechanisms by means of publications reaching the masses, so as to help the working people to understand it. The success of the System will crucially depend on the extent to which the working people are acquainted with it.

### III. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

#### *Education*

In social development, our Revolution has achieved impressive results, which have put our country in the van of the Latin American nations.

At the time of Moncada, 23.6 per cent of the population over 10 years of age were illiterate. Only 55.6 per cent of the children between the ages of 6 and 14 attended school. One and a half million inhabitants over 6 years of age had never gone to any school. The percentage of children not going to school at the ages of 7, 8 and 9 years was, respectively, 52, 43.7 and 37.6. Only 17 per cent of the young between the ages of 15 to 19 received some kind of education. The population over 15 years had an average educational level below the third grade.

Five years later, in 1958, four figures reflected the deplorable state of education:

One million illiterates.

Over one million near-illiterates.

600,000 children without schools.

10,000 teachers without jobs.

In 1959, the Ministry of Education's budget for expenditures and investments amounted to 79.4 million pesos. For decades, the funds appropriated for education were routinely embezzled by the officials in charge. Even teaching appointments had to be paid for.

Technical and professional training was in a wretched state, since the number of centers throughout the country was very limited and material subsidy was actually nonexistent.

There was only one technical center for industrial training. The rest—about 17—only trained skilled workers.

There were only six agricultural schools, with a capacity for 30 scholarship students each, offering two-year intermediate-level courses in agriculture and animal husbandry for agricultural workers.

Under Law 561 of September 1959, 10,000 new classrooms were created throughout the country, and a few months after the victory of the Revolution there were twice as many rural teachers as the country ever had under capitalism.

Sixty-nine of the tyranny's garrison premises were turned into schools, with a total capacity of 40,000 students.

On December 26, 1959, the first comprehensive Educational Reform was set in motion.

With the objective of carrying education to the remotest parts of the country, 3,000 volunteer teachers, graduated from teacher-training schools, and youths, with a completed or incompleting intermediate-level education, went into the mountains in response to the call issued by the Revolution, and later



organized themselves as the Frank País Vanguard Teachers' Brigade.

Pursuing the same objectives, the Ana Betancourt Educational Plan for countrywomen was started early in 1961, and through it more than 150,000 young women, mainly from the mountains, received their schooling.

In 1961, the Literacy Campaign was carried out, a great feat of our people, especially of our teachers and students: 707,000 adults learned to read and write in one year. Immediately after, under the impact of the enthusiasm of the Literacy Campaign, adult education was started, with a great and sustained effort to raise the educational level of the people, helping the country's plans of economic development. Likewise, Workers' and Peasants' Faculties were set up to give them access to the University.

On June 6, 1961, the Law on the General Nationalization of Education and Free Education was enacted.

On December 22, 1961, upon the termination of the Literacy Campaign, a massive scholarship plan was announced. Later on, 40,000 members of the Literacy Campaign Brigade, sons of our workers and peasants, were enrolled as the first group of scholarship students.

Extension and Advancement Educational Courses were organized to raise the cultural level of our workers, peasants and housewives.

Basic and technical on-the-job training courses were started to raise the technical qualifications of the working people, to boost productivity, improve the quality of goods and achieve reductions in costs. These courses were the basis of the Advancement Departments of the ministries and organisms, whose functions were regulated by Law 1272 of June 6, 1974.

The university reform was carried out, and comprised, among other measures, the modification of the form of government, reorganization of the university structure, development of scientific research, establishment of a larger number of specialties and of Pedagogical

Institutes, establishment of the university scholarship system, changes in the enrollment structure according to the country's needs, and establishment of the work-study connection.

From 1962 on, tens of thousands of scholarship students went into the mountains of Oriente to pick coffee. This was the beginning of the experience of combining work and study within the national education system, which later revolutionized our education.

In April 1966, the experiment of carrying the school to the countryside in Camagüey Province went on for 35 days, and afterwards other students of intermediate and higher education participated in various productive tasks. This experience was later applied to all urban intermediate-education schools in the country, for at least seven weeks in every school year.

The idea of combining study and work materialized with the establishment of the basic secondary school in the countryside, which was first done in the 1968/69 school year.

The principle of combining study and work now governs the whole system of national education, taking account of the age of the pupils and the types of education.

Compared with the total enrollment of 811,345 in the whole system of education in 1958, the year preceding the establishment of the revolutionary power, we have a total of 3,051,000 in this school year. Virtually one in three persons is enrolled as a student. Primary education now involves 2.7 times more children, and intermediate education, 6.1 times more. Enrollment at universities has gone up 5.5 times, with an increase of over 67,000 students. Today, 100 per cent of the children between the ages of 6 and 12 attend school, and this is comparable with the figures for the most developed countries of the world. At present, our children study with the use of books and methods that are the envy of all of us who remember the old schools. The number of scholarships in every type and level of

education, including both boarding and semi-boarding schools, has reached 620,000.

In higher education, which had about 15,000 students at the time of the triumph of the Revolution, we have 83,000 students in the present school year.

Since the 1963 reform, profound transformations have taken place in our universities. The adoption of curricula based on scientific principles, the emergence of new disciplines and specialties in accordance with the requirements of the country's development, the change in the structure of enrollment in favor of the scientific and technological branches, the organization of research allied with the process of instruction, and the democratization of university life, have, among other measures, brought about a qualitative change at our centers of higher learning.

In this school year, working people make up 50 per cent of university enrollment.

Before the triumph of the Revolution, there was no adult education, as there is today, with its enrollment running to half a million, the technical advancement courses run by the organisms involving tens of thousands of working people, and the special education for those who are in one way or another mentally or physically handicapped, involving 12,000 students.

In 1958, there were under 30,000 sixth-grade school leavers; in the recently completed school year, the figure was about 190,000.

There are now 121 Primary Education Teacher Schools with an enrollment of 33,000. There are more than 12,000 student-teachers in the four contingents of the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical University Detachment. Tens of thousands of teachers from among the working people are now enrolled at refresher and advancement courses. In recent years, work has been done considerably to develop technical and professional education, the training of teaching personnel, and to extend special education for retarded children and young people. A great impetus has been

given to physical education and school sports; the introduction of a new mathematics syllabus was started; scientific interest groups, the monitors movement and vocational schools have been developed; the school library network and pedagogic documentation centers and bases were established to develop the manufacture of audio-visual aids.

In 1974, 23,223,000 copies of textbooks were published, apart from the university textbooks; 46 million pencils and 64 million exercise-books were distributed.

The semi-boarding school children receive their lunches from the State and the boarding-school children, totalling more than 311,000, are, in addition, provided with lodging with all the required facilities, are bussed between the schools and the residential areas, and are also provided with uniforms free of charge.

In 1974, 32 million children were carried on 1,370,000 trips. More than 600 buses are put into operation each year as part of the facilities of newly established schools.

Seventy per cent of the present school facilities have been built, adapted or begun since 1959.

Our socialist regime now puts 11 times more resources into education than was done under capitalism. Education outlays, including school investments, have already risen this year to 874.6 million pesos; 240,000 workers, of whom 60 per cent are women, are engaged in the various services under the Ministry of Education.

Projected enrollment in the whole education system in 1980 is to be as follows: 1,700,000 elementary-school pupils; 1 million intermediate-level students, and 140,000 higher-education students.

At present, intensive work is being done on the plan to raise the level of our education system with the object of adapting it to the society we are building. This implies political, intellectual, scientific, technical, physical, moral, aesthetic and polytechnical work, and patriotic and military formation of the rising generations, together with professional training in the corre-

sponding specialties, so that society may count on the required number of duly qualified intermediate-level technical workers, specialized university-trained teachers and cadres capable of fully enjoying their general welfare and of responding to the country's need for economic-social development in the coming years of the present and future centuries.

The plan lays the basis for steady and uninterrupted perfection of the system, since the methodological and organizational Marxist-Leninist principles on which it is based require studies and research into the scientific prognosis of educational development that will help it in its future perspectives.

A Fundamental Law on Education must be enacted in the near future; it will be debated in advance by the people in their political and mass organizations in order to effect the qualitative changes envisaged in the plan for perfecting the System. This Law will also gradually establish the new compulsory general schooling up to the 9th grade, for the immediate stage, and up to the 12th grade, for the following stage..

A major mistake made in education during the 1960s was the insistence on maintaining the initial training of teachers in the mountains of Oriente with the aim of helping them to adapt to the tough rural life. We were slow in realizing that the system was unrealistic, and that for a time it affected the availability of graduate teachers. There were other channels: today there are modern and efficient teacher-training schools in every region of the country, where tens of thousands of young people are being trained.

One of the most outstanding advances was the universalization of the study-work principle. This has made it possible to put into practice one of Marx's noblest ideas for shaping the full man, and Martí's wise and profound idea about the way future generations in Cuba were to be educated.

This gave our young people the opportunity of participating in the country's economic development and

of contributing with their effort to covering the growing costs of education, without which no underdeveloped country would have found a solution for this problem, for this helps to temper them from early childhood in the habits of creative work, without running the risk of possible deformation as a result of the exclusive exercise of intellectual activity.

The implementation of such ideas and the successful results accomplished by education in Cuba have aroused interest in our educational system and the admiration of teachers, professors and leaders in other countries and also the admiration of international agencies dealing with education.

## *Culture*

New ways for the people's cultural development were opened up with the triumph of the Revolution. Under capitalism most artists, completely helpless in social and economic terms, were discriminated against or only accepted for the enjoyment of a bourgeois élite. Hundreds of talented men and women were frustrated when failing to survive in a hostile environment, although it is true that on every occasion there were groups of intellectuals which could develop their artistic work in keeping with and rooted in the national tradition. Sensationalism, easy entertainment and escapist art were encouraged. Resources were used to distort our people's cultural values and history. The handful of cultural centers only went to satisfy the privileged minorities. The mass media were mainly used to humiliate the people, who were steeped in illiteracy and the most brutal cultural misery. In the abandoned towns of the interior cultural activity was totally ignored.

The Literacy Campaign and the plans for reforming education completed a first phase, and the Revolution gave the people boundless access to culture. The

National Council of Culture was founded on January 4, 1961. This inaugurated the recovery of our traditions and the ennobling of artistic and literary work.

Free education in the arts has been systematically extended since the foundation of the National School of Arts, located in the Cubanacán neighborhood. A broad network of art schools has been built, and there are now 47 schools with about 5,000 students training to become art instructors, teachers and artists.

The steady upswing of the amateur art movement started by the Revolution has fostered the practice of the arts, and this movement has become an instrument of aesthetic and political education with the massive involvement in the amateur groups of workers, peasants, students, members of FAR\* and MININT\*\*. In 1964, there were 1,164 groups; there are now more than 18,000, and 120,000 performances were staged in 1974. In 1975, we already have 1,903 instructors in these activities.

Before the Revolution, the forms of culture that reached children and young people were the comic strips disseminated by imperialism and preaching racial discrimination, the inferiority of women, and the denial of the Homeland. Today, radically different images reach all children. About 600,000 pioneers engage in artistic performances, such as beautiful songs, drawings, poems, recitations and dances of our own or other nations, through which they express their highest and purest feelings, while being formed as more accomplished human beings. The amateur art movement of the pioneers has 998 rhythm bands, 34,400 choirs, music, theater and dance groups, 16,800 reading circles, and 88,930 pioneers permanently participating in the plastic arts movement.

Dancing has attained notable achievements with the setting up of provincial groups and the development

\* Revolutionary Armed Forces.—*Ed.*

\*\* Ministry of the Interior.—*Ed.*

of the National Dance Ensemble of Cuba and the National Folklore Ensemble, both set up in 1959. A National Ballet School has been founded. It has involved new generations and has its highest expression in the National Ballet of Cuba, whose foundation gave drive to a form of art that had had to fold up in 1958 owing to the indifference of the State. The creation of the Camagüey Ballet has been a milestone in this field. These groups have scored great triumphs for Cuba and won international recognition for their high standard.

In the past, very few of our playwrights saw their plays on the stage, and the handful of theater groups were driven to poverty. After the triumph of the Revolution, the Escambray group was formed as a special contribution, undoubtedly the latest of the Cuban theatrical movement. In 1958, there was only one stage company, at present there are 13. Dramatic productions have increased. The national opera and light-opera house has been consolidated, and other similar groups have been created, among which that at Holguín, founded in 1962, stands out. The children's and youth theater has been promoted. Theatrical facilities increased from 14 in 1959 to 65 in 1974.

In the past, many of our musicians were first known abroad before they were known at home, where they faced almost total neglect. Our country, with an extraordinary musical wealth, endured constant penetration by foreign forms of expression, mainly from the United States. Work in this field has brought about an unparalleled upsurge, highlighted in 1960 by the establishment of the National Symphony Orchestra, vehicle of an expression that had barely managed to survive through the efforts of Cuban musicians. Five provincial concert orchestras were founded. In 1959, with the creation of the National Choir, the development of the choral movement started, and it now has 10 professional groups. The traditional political-and-social song line has been continued in the New Trou-

badours. Our musicians have travelled all over the world, carrying the message of Revolutionary Cuba, and have felt the warmth of the peoples for our Revolution.

Through literature, the Revolution has disseminated knowledge of the highest values of national and international culture. Our writers, once an object of despise, had never had such vibrant motivations for their work and so many opportunities to express themselves. By eliminating illiteracy, rapidly advancing toward the education of all the people, the Revolution has created a large reading public for our writers. Publications of Cuban authors' works have grown extraordinarily. The Association of Writers and Artists of Cuba has been founded, the Hermanos Saiz Brigade of Young Artists and Writers has been established, and a growing youth literary movement has developed.

Before the triumph of the Revolution, the only art school existed in total neglect in the midst of cheap politicking. Our painters could only exhibit their works in the few galleries the State had or in private establishments by overcoming great obstacles; today, they have access to 16 galleries, and in 1974, 643 exhibitions were held. Together with the well-known exponents of Cuban art, the young painters work on new expressions, with the poster having an outstanding place as a response to the old publicity concepts, and together with other forms of artistic expression, giving our artists a high international reputation.

We have a network of 116 libraries throughout the country, and a service of 714 smaller libraries. As a basis for this activity, the School for Library Technicians was set up in 1962.

The country had six museums in very poor condition. The rescue, restoration and preservation of old and the creation of new facilities increased the figure to 29, and the establishment of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments in 1963 marked the start of a systematic effort to protect and maintain the cultural heritage.

The development of industry has allowed the production of music instruments and equipment for rhythm bands to meet, among others, the needs of the secondary schools in the countryside, and of the pioneers. The creation of the Enterprise of Musical Recordings and Editions in 1962 has facilitated the spread of recorded music and promoted the production of records, which in 1974 numbered 1,600,000.

The Party has given permanent attention to problems of artistic and literary culture. Our most outstanding writers and artists give expression to a culture with deep national roots, reflecting the universality of true art and our best Latin American traditions. The Congress will discuss the theses that embody this experience, that reaffirm our Revolution's well-known principle of combining the firmest ideological positions with broad freedom of form, and that enable writers and artists to choose their aesthetic means of expression.

After the triumph of the Revolution, the development of cultural activities has undoubtedly undergone a qualitative change. But the available human and material resources have not always been adequately used. We are not completely satisfied with the achievements in the field of culture, and we are sure that in the years ahead these forms of expression will be much more vigorous and of a superior quality, in accordance with the revolutionary achievements.

The foundation of the Casa de las Américas in 1959 helped to prevent our cultural isolation during the hardest period of the blockade, and through various publications, contests, awards, festivals, exhibitions and literary gatherings, theater, plastic art and musical events, it has linked the Cuban Revolution with the most progressive sections of the Latin American intelligentsia and the Latin Americanists in the socialist countries, so keeping alive the spirit of the Cuban Revolution on the continent. Today, the Casa de las Américas is Latin America's most prestigious cultural center.

Before the victory of the Revolution, there was no book publishing in Cuba to speak of. With only about a million books a year, the graphic industry was essentially devoted to commercial printing. The almost total lack of publishing houses made this situation even worse, and those which did exist merely acted as middlemen for Cuban writers. Publication of technical and scientific books was minimal.

The printing of over one million primers and textbooks for the adult Literacy Campaign was a vigorous step forward in the publishing movement.

In 1960, the use of printing equipment at several reactionary newspapers which were nationalized was the first step in the foundation of a national publishing house, which was enlarged after the nationalization of the country's most important printing works. The National Publishing House of Cuba was established in 1962 and Ediciones Revolucionarias was set up in 1965. This was a project aimed to meet the need for university-level textbooks, which were distributed to the students free of charge. The Cuban Book Institute was founded in 1967. At present, it comprises seven publishing houses and, in addition to the needs of the population, meets the fundamental requirements in textbooks. Over 6,000 titles have been published since 1967; compared with 8.5 million copies in 1967, a total of 35 million will be issued this year, for an annual average increase of close to 20 per cent. A total of 23.3 million textbooks was produced in 1974.

A national network of 197 bookstores caters for the population. The Cuban reading public now has at its disposal 4.1 books per head, both nationally produced and imported; in 1959, the figure was only 0.6. The consolidation and development of the system of publishing houses, the investments into the modernization of the existing units, and the construction of a printing combinó in Guantánamo and another one in Palma Soriano, with strictly educational purposes, will guar-

antee the attainment—by 1980—of an installed capacity for turning out 100 million books.

The production of films was nonexistent in Cuba, neither was there any material basis for it. During the years before the Revolution, the cinema, specifically the US cinema, had a privileged status among the instruments of colonization designed to implement an overall policy of adulteration and distortion of our history and our image. Before the Revolution, 99.65 per cent of the films shown were capitalist, with over 50 per cent from the United States.

On March 24, 1959, the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry was set up. A new art, lacking both in tradition and historical background in our country, the Cuban cinema succeeded in creating works of art and a whole artistic movement, which have become part of our cultural heritage. The Cuban cinema is a significant cultural reality and documentary films are prominent among its works.

During the past few years, both the technical and industrial bases have been built up, and a color-film laboratory has recently been inaugurated. Our film industry has produced 71 full-length films, 541 documentary films, 739 newsreels and 90 cartoons. The weekly newsreel, which has adopted expressive and efficient forms of communication, is an element of political content in film showings.

The work carried out by the mobile projector units is the most interesting experience in creating new audiences. The absence of film-screening in the rural areas was an expression of the sharp difference between the urban and rural population. During these years, the cinemas-on-wheels have screened 1,603,000 films for an audience of 198,200,000. Today we have 620 16-mm cinemas, 112 projectors on trucks, 480 stationary projectors, 22 on mule trains or drawn by draft animals and 2 on motor boats. We have 449 cinemas for screening 35-mm films, out of which 71 are newly built, but these do not yet compensate for the ones

closed for repairs or for other reasons. In 1974, the number of spectators reached the figure of 70 million. The Cuban film industry, now of international renown, has won 136 main awards at international festivals.

At the capitalist stage, radio broadcasting, as a medium for spreading the ideas of bourgeois society, served as a salesman of commercial products. Serials with a twisted content were used indiscriminately, fostering vulgarity, bad taste, prejudice, a low cultural level. As virtually the only mass medium it was truly monstrous. Soap, beer, tooth paste monopolized radio propaganda.

There was the crime serial using traditional tunes to dramatize horrible and bloody crimes; it was a rare occasion when true national values were extolled, and the development of a national conscience was even less encouraged. There was no interest in reaching the sparsely populated areas or those with a low purchasing power. In a relatively small island, some areas had never even heard the national radio.

Television, which came on the scene after the radio, adopted the formulas successfully tested by the latter. It used what was in vogue and sold better, and in order to do a more thorough job of imitating the pattern of US television, it included religious talks that had been very successful in the United States.

In 1959, the radio and TV monopoly with the support of US firms and national capital was a solid structure. The sale of scripts and recorded tapes of programs to more than 10 Latin American countries had begun, and this made the capitalist radio of Cuba a source of ideological distortion and infiltration not only for our country, but for others as well.

Seven television channels, six of which were located in Havana, two of them theoretically having national scope, five national networks, 15 provincial broadcasting stations and 90 local stations constituted the anarchic system which under free enterprise comprised the mass media.

Upon the triumph of the Revolution, broadcasting stations committed to the tyranny were taken over and the Independent Front of Free Broadcasting Stations was created. The nationalization of radio and television was later completed, and in May 1962, the Cuban Institute of Radio Broadcasting was set up with the responsibility of centralizing this medium to serve the interests of the Revolution.

A process of rationalizing the facilities was begun, the national radio and television network was set up, services were extended to the traditional zones of silence, the provincial stations were reorganized, the equipment was modernized and communication via satellite was introduced into our system. Programs for the people were first produced.

The potential of radio transmission has multiplied threefold. At present, there are 40 local stations. In the sphere of television, transmitters were relocated in various areas of the interior and stations were integrated so as to leave two channels to cover the largest possible national area, and relay broadcasts were widely introduced. Cinematographic laboratories were developed and steps toward introducing color television taken. In 1968, Tele-Rebelde was founded in Santiago de Cuba, and transmitters were installed in such remote areas as Baracoa, Nicaro and Moa.

National radio and television have played an exceptional role in the political information and orientation of our people. Today, we have programs for children, musical programs, drama, information, and programs with public participation. They are aimed to fulfill a social function, to inform and entertain while fostering good taste. They exercise an influence on the development of technology in agriculture, stimulate production and higher labor productivity, promote hygiene and sound eating habits, extend language teaching, and deal with the complex theme of home education, preventive medical orientation, and the development of artistic capabilities, all of which contrib-



utes to economic and political development. Despite these advances, the required quality level has not yet been attained. Radio and television play a very important cultural role in our society, and that is why their quality must correspond to their responsibility as mass media.

### *Scientific Research*

Scientific and technical research was, in effect, unknown in the country. In 1958, higher education was not prepared to cope with development needs, to say nothing of research activities. The pressing need for a scientific and technical revolution in the revolutionary process led to scientific activity in various organisms, and to the establishment of the Academy of Sciences in 1962. Thus, in the course of these years, over 100 research centers have been set up, among them the Sugar Cane Research Institute, which has concentrated mainly on research into new varieties; the Institute of Soils, which has worked on the drawing up of a national map to contribute to rational planning in the use of our lands; the Institute of Geography, which, with the cooperation of the Geographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, has compiled the first national atlas; the Institute of Geology, which, with the cooperation of various academies of the socialist camp, has made a geological survey of Cuba as a scientific basis for prospecting; the Institute of Meteorology, which has installed a network of stations and modern radar and satellite tracking stations to forecast cyclones in good time and so help to save lives and material wealth; the Institute of Nuclear Research, which responds, among other needs, to research into the future generation of atomic power, and other institutes, like those of Fundamental Research into Tropical Agriculture, Geophysics and Astronomy, Mathematics, Cybernetics and Computing,

and of Oceanology, Zoology and Botany, which have laid the foundations for the study of Cuba's fauna and flora. Along with this, there is the outstanding progress made by various centers in cattle-breeding genetics, both in poultry farming and pork production, and in animal feeding; in basic research into biomedicine, the environment, plant sanitation and technology by the National Center for Scientific Research; the research into sugar cane by-products; into health, carried out by 11 institutions, the Institute of Mining, and others of equal importance to the economy.

At present, there are about 21,000 professionals and technicians engaged in research work, for which purpose about 75 million pesos are being annually appropriated. This resource potential has made it necessary to work out a coherent scientific and technological policy, for which purpose the National Council of Science and Technology was recently set up to outline the national scientific policy and to frame research plans and use their results to solve the fundamental problems of the country's economic and social development.

Along with the research development carried out in scientific institutions, a powerful youth movement was started in 1964 with the creation of the Youth Technical Brigades, which have at present more than 50,000 members, linking professionals and skilled workers with technical and professional advancement at work centers, and are aimed to achieve improvements in production by means of innovations and inventions, rationalization and technical productivity. The innovators' and inventors' movement also promotes, through our labor unions, the involvement of workers in such creative activities.

Other activities concerning the people's recreation and their cultural and political advancement have been developed. The new Botanical Gardens now under construction, the Lenin Park, the National Aquarium, the National Zoo and the zoos in the provinces contribute to the entertainment and education of our young

people and children. In the coming years, more resources will go into fostering such activities, including the modern, spacious and handsome facilities for the National Zoo now under construction.

### *Health*

The health situation in the country before the Revolution could be called appalling. The Public Health budget was just a pittance. To get a job of a doctor in a hospital, it was necessary to have a political recommendation. Doctors were concentrated in the capital, where for 22 per cent of the population there were 61 per cent of the available beds. Rural medicine was totally nonexistent. There were about 500 enterprises engaged in the production and distribution of pharmaceuticals, a business marked by high profits and frequent scandals at the people's cost. Big foreign firms, especially US firms, controlled 70 per cent of the market. Products were sold at many times their cost. There were virtually no health statistics. Thousands of people, especially children, died annually of curable diseases. The medical services were yet another business to which the poorest sectors of the population had no access, and if they did, the services were of the worst quality.

In this sector, the Revolution has effected great transformations and has also achieved extraordinary successes. Top priority was given to the people's health, and all the resources and responsibility for this were concentrated in the Ministry of Public Health.

Many hospitals, with construction in some cases started ten years earlier, were promptly completed; new ones were built, and existing ones were modernized and enlarged.

Law 723 of January 23, 1960, under which the rural medical service was set up, stipulated that, upon graduation, doctors were to serve in rural communities

full time for a year, a period later extended to two years.

Rapid construction was started on 56 rural hospitals, which were added to the 118 dispensaries set up in the interior, to overcome the traditional sanitary neglect to which our rural population had been subjected.

In place of the 161 First Aid Houses, operating in precarious conditions in the urban zones, there are now 336 modern polyclinics, with preventive and curative functions.

Our total hospital network consists of 255 units, equipped with all the necessary facilities and, in many cases, with the most advanced instruments of medical science. The number of beds increased from 28,536 in 1959 to 46,402 in 1974.

Medical attention at home is now available in all the big cities and in a large part of the country's most important towns.

Instead of the one Blood Bank before the Revolution, we now have 22, which are distributed throughout the country and supplied voluntarily and free by the population.

Under capitalism, the national psychiatric hospital was actually a place packed with mentally sick patients where hair-raising scenes took place and many died through starvation or maltreatment, while some of its managers even made money on the funerals. The Mazorra Hospital was a virtual Dante's inferno. Our psychiatric hospitals are now scientifically run institutions, where patients are given humane treatment, and which have a high efficiency and recovery index.

New health institutions, of which the people knew nothing in the old days, have been established, among them 96 stomatological clinics, 47 maternity homes, 35 hygiene and epidemiology laboratories, and 10 biomedical research institutions.

The country had only one Medical School, which by 1959 was graduating about 300 physicians a year, but many of them emigrated because of the lack of

jobs. Today, there are four schools, already graduating more than 1,000 physicians and 300 stomatologists every year.

Of the 6,000 physicians in Cuba before the Revolution, nearly all of them were concentrated in the capital, 3,000, you will recall, left the country as a result of the criminal imperialist scheming to deprive our people of this type of specialists. At present, the nation has more than 10,000 well-trained physicians, rendering their services all over the country's territory.

Professional training is now incomparably superior, because from the outset it has combined theoretical studies with teaching practice.

There was only one Nurse Training School, which graduated about 80 nurses a year; today, there are 34 schools, graduating almost 500 nurses a year.

Training courses for Assistant Nurses were established and now graduate more than 2,000 a year; training courses for intermediate-level medical staff were set up at provincial and regional teaching units.

As many as 56,506 intermediate staff and assistants were graduated in the revolutionary period up to 1974.

Public Health spending, 20 million pesos before the Revolution, has increased to 400 million in 1975, a 20-fold rise.

The prices of medicines were lowered, and their production and distribution passed into the nation's hands. Our pharmaceutical industry was reorganized and modernized. National production has increased by more than 80 per cent.

This colossal effort has brought about wonderful results, and these are reflected in the people's well-being and health.

Poliomyelitis, which caused disablement or death in about 300 cases a year, was eradicated in 1963.

Malaria, which struck about 3,000 persons a year, was eradicated in 1968.

Diphtheria, which affected an average of 600 children a year, was eradicated in 1971.

Gastroenteritis, a great scourge among children in underdeveloped countries, which even in 1962 caused 4,157 deaths in Cuba, out of which 80 per cent were children under one year, has been curbed and in 1974 caused only 761 deaths.

Cases of tuberculosis, tetanus and other infectious diseases have been as rapidly reduced.

As many as 97 per cent of all births now take place at maternity hospitals. Expectant mothers receive an average of 8.5 medical examinations each.

The infant mortality rate, which in the pre-revolutionary period was higher than 60 per 1,000 live births in the first year of life, in 1974 went down to 28.9.

Mother and child welfare has not only reduced the infant mortality rate for babies under one year, but has also brought about other changes, such as:

- pre-school mortality (children 1 to 4 years of age) has dropped to 1.2 per 1,000 inhabitants;
- school mortality (children 5 to 14 years of age) has dropped to 0.5 per 1,000 inhabitants;
- mortality among mothers has dropped to 0.5 per 1,000 live births.

Life expectancy, which was under 55 years before the Revolution, has now gone up to 70 years.

Medical services are absolutely free.

A total of 140,000 health workers are engaged in this activity.

In health standards, our country already bears comparison with the developed countries.

To achieve all this the Ministry of Public Health and the mass organizations, CDR, FMC, ANAP, CTC have pooled their efforts. Had it not been for their contribution and their educational work, such extraordinary accomplishments with such limited resources could not have been achieved.

The successes of the Revolution in the field of medicine have also been recognized, and have aroused admiration in international health organizations.

The generation of professionals trained in the new society and the older physicians who have remained loyal to the Revolution have developed an admirable spirit of solidarity, one of whose splendid features is to be at the people's service in all circumstances and conditions at home and abroad.

In the years after the Revolution, 18 countries of America, Asia and Africa have benefited from the internationalist, dedicated and humane, sometimes even heroic, work of our physicians and other public health specialists.

But the achievements in public health notwithstanding, some difficulties still remain.

In the next five-year period, the results attained have to be consolidated and even surpassed.

In this period, more than 100 new polyclinics and hospitals are to be built. The Public Health program also provides for homes for the aged and the disabled.

The indicators to be reached are: one doctor for approximately 750 inhabitants, one dentist for 3,000, and 55 intermediate specialists for 10,000 inhabitants.

An intense effort is to be mounted to reduce infant mortality to 25 per 1,000 live births. The qualifications of the medical personnel and the quality of the services are to be further improved.

### *Child Welfare*

In 1958, there were 38 orphanages, with an average of 1,600 children between the ages of one and six. These orphanages were nothing but charity institutions, where the children received neither education nor medical care. Another institution ostensibly for child care was the notorious *Casa de Beneficencia*, to which orphans or abandoned children were delivered to spend their whole life without a family until adulthood. This was often the consequence of prejudice in

a society that ostracized the unmarried mother and condemned her child to a social stigma.

The working mother had absolutely no support. In many cases, children between the ages of 8 and 10 years had to drop out of school to care for their younger brothers and sisters. There were many fatal accidents because desperate mothers would lock up their small children at home while away at work.

In 1960, the Revolutionary Government assigned to the newly created Federation of Cuban Women the task of establishing institutions for the education of the working people's children.

In April 1961, the first day-care centers were inaugurated, conceived basically as institutions for the education and teaching of children below primary school age. These centers are closely related with the family and society, providing the children of the working people with close attention during their working hours.

Gradually, day-care centers were set up throughout the Island, mostly in houses and palaces left behind by the bourgeoisie when they fled the country.

In 1965, there were already 165 day-care centers for 13,861 children.

In 1969, the first school with a four-year course of regular studies to train personnel for the day-care centers was established.

In 1971, the Institute for Childhood was created, bringing together under its management the day-care centers and the other institutions concerned with children up to the age of 5 years, the primary objective being to provide scientifically based child care for children of this age group.

In 1975, there are 652 day-care centers, with 54,382 children, this service benefiting 49,805 working mothers.

The construction of new day-care centers has been started this year according to new architectural projects meeting the optimum requirements of these institutions

—with gardens or playgrounds, health-care facilities, large halls and roomy parlors, the finest hygienic conditions, so leaving far behind the approach based on adapting houses, which did render that service at a historical moment.

All the existing provinces are soon to have modern schools to train day-care center personnel; a few are already under construction and are to enroll over 5,000 students. Not less than 400 new day-care centers are to be built in the next five-year period, and by 1980 an enrollment of over 160,000 children is to be reached, with more than 100,000 mothers benefiting from the service.

The time of homeless children, orphanages and of the *Casa de Beneficencia* is gone for good. Neither are there any orphans; with the broad and noble spirit of solidarity that the Revolution has kindled in the hearts of the people, for every child that might have been left helpless there are dozens of families willing to accept him as their own.

## Sports

The advances achieved by the Revolution in sports are well known.

In capitalist times, professional sports prevailed. Baseball and boxing in Cuba were sources of income for sports racketeers. The sports grounds of the exclusive and discriminatory clubs were barred to the people, there was no sports activity for the masses of the people. It is estimated that only about 15,000 took part in organized sports. Sports were not promoted, but gambling was; horse races, dog races and *jai alai*\* were given much publicity in the press. This, together with billiards, lotteries, knuckleboxes, dice, roulette, slot machines and houses of prostitution, were the type of ac-

\* A type of handball.—Ed.

tivities promoted by the capitalists in Cuba. Physical education did not exist in our country.

On February 23, 1961, a law enacted by the Revolutionary Government established the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation to promote and direct sports activities in the country. Professional sports were abolished.

With the triumph of the Revolution, sports facilities and the former aristocratic clubs were placed at the disposal of the people.

A center for the training of cadres, which is today the Comandante Manuel Fajardo Higher School of Physical Education, was organized, and was later followed by provincial schools of physical education, now with thousands of students.

The Institute of Sports Medicine was established.

An industry for the manufacture of sports gear, formerly imported from the United States, was set up.

Tens of thousands of primary school teachers received training so as to be able to give instruction in physical education.

Sports grounds were set up for physical education and sports, and programs for these activities were drawn up for various education levels.

Preparatory schools were organized for students outstanding in sports to promote their physical development in addition to their regular studies. Competitions and sports events, which before were limited to the capital, are now held in all the provinces, giving millions of people the opportunity to enjoy them.

People have been encouraged in every possible way to do physical exercises and to go in for sports.

The diversification of sports has been promoted to include sports in which the country had no tradition or experience.

Sports have been encouraged at work centers and in units of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior.

Women's participation has grown considerably.

Dozens of important sports facilities have been built all over the country, and the new intermediate-level schools under construction have been designed to include fine grounds for physical education and sports.

In 1963, participation in physical education and sports had already reached the figure of 169,134. In 1974, 11 years later, the figure was 2,977,308, of whom 1,673,574 were schoolchildren.

Our country invests over 40 million pesos a year in physical education and sports.

This tremendous effort is naturally reflected in international sports.

From our modest performance in the 1962 Central American Games in Jamaica, where we were placed third, we advanced to become champions of the area at the Fourth Games in Puerto Rico in 1966, a title we still hold.

From 11th place in the Pan-American Games in 1959, with only 20 medals, we moved up to first place among the Latin American countries at Winnipeg in 1967, surpassed only by the United States and Canada. In 1971, at Cali, we won second place in the hemisphere.

In the last Games, just held in Mexico this year, we won 119 gold, 94 silver and 62 bronze medals, a total of 275, the highest figure ever reached by our country in the Pan-American Games. Cuba was second only to the United States, and ahead of Canada, which was third, with 107 medals.

Concerning our participation in the Olympic Games, in the period before the Revolution, Cuba won only one medal in 1904.

In 1968, at the Olympic Games in Mexico, we won 10 medals and at the Munich Games, in 1972, a total of 22 medals. In Rome, in 1960, we came 45th; at the Munich Games we moved up to 14th place.

Cuba is member of 81 international sports organizations and holds leading posts in many of them. Cuba

now has 151 international referees in 17 different sports.

Our athletes set an example of discipline, dedication, modesty and courage. Professionalism, which once degraded and ruined sports, has been left behind, together with gambling, betting, doping and other vices, that cast a shadow over the future of Cuba's young people in the old days.

In the next five-year period, this vigorous sports movement is to continue developing and improving its standards and its massive character, so as to enrich our working people and the rising generations with the incomparable treasures of recreation and health.

### *Social Security*

When the Revolution triumphed, it found most of the Retirement and Pension Funds embezzled. Many retired persons, especially in the agricultural sector, received a pension of only six pesos a month. A high percentage of the workers were deprived of this right. Funds were distributed among many different agencies, all of which involved colossal bureaucratic expenditures, and provided scope for all manner of machinations.

In 1959, the pension funds were given subsidies to enable them to meet their commitments in full. That same year, the minimum pension was raised to 40 pesos a month. The victims of war, both civilian and military, were assured of security, whether they had belonged to the Revolutionary Armed Forces or to the defeated army of the tyranny, and thousands of pending retirement pensions were granted.

In 1963, Law 1100 on Social Security was enacted by the Revolution. It had previously been discussed at every work center, and it granted 100 per cent security to salaried workers, taking full account of all the years worked in any sector of activity. Special consideration was given to work done in noxious or hazardous con-

ditions, and to the establishment—for the first time in Cuba—of sickness or common-accident benefits. Security became one of the responsibilities of the State. Both funds and their administration were unified.

Parallel with this, various social and economic measures were being adopted to solve the problems that were arising and had not been envisaged in the Law, such as the payment of both retirement pensions and pensions whose payment to Cuban workers who had formerly worked at Guantánamo Base had been suspended by the US Government; the setting up of retirement funds for the more than 7,000 survivors of the Antillean day-laborers brought to Cuba before 1920 to work in agriculture; the retirement of over 22,000 workers and small proprietors who, as a result of incapacity or old age, were unable to work following the nationalization of petty retail trade in 1968. The minimum pension was subsequently raised to 60 pesos a month.

Similarly, a complementary system for social security has been created for the economic protection of active working people and their families who have low incomes or whose incomes decline for various reasons. This system includes those studying at the various levels of our educational system or taking scientific and technical courses at the University; young working people who have been called up for military service and are the only breadwinner of their family; those who suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis and are to receive their full salary while receiving medical treatment; categories of working people in the low-income brackets who are to be exempt from paying rent or to receive subsidies to cover the cost of meals at workers' canteens, or both.

Moreover, Assistance Plan commissions were established to ensure that not a single person in our society was helpless. These commissions provide economic and other kinds of support to those who have no income or are not covered by the Social Security Law.

In order to reward work centers which have accomplished tasks of extraordinary merit, it was decided to pass Resolution 270 of October 1968, allowing 100 per cent pensions to their workers. Since the requisites and measures for selecting these work centers were not clearly specified, the Resolution was much too broad and brought about a steep rise in social security expenditures, which greatly surpassed our economic possibilities.

Besides, this encouraged retirement requests by persons whose physical capacities enabled them to continue in their production activity, something that was disadvantageous for our country owing to the labor shortage.

This was corrected just after the 13th Workers' Congress, and we returned to the application of Law 1100, though honoring the retirements granted under Resolution 270.

The Revolutionary Government is now working on a new social security legislation to rectify it and bring it abreast of the advance of the Revolution.

Law 1100 also included Maternity Social Security. Before the Revolution, very few women workers received such social protection benefits, for of the 194,000 who were employed, 70 per cent worked as servants, and were not covered by the Law. With the new provisions, all women workers have been given protection, both in the State sector and in the private sector. They were ensured, among others, the right to a 12-week leave with pay and to the medical care and hospital services that both the mother and the newborn require during pregnancy and parturition up until their discharge from hospital.

In 1974, new legislation was enacted to regulate most amply the considerations, the rights and the protection our society grants to working mothers.

To give an idea of the resources invested by the country in social security, one needs merely say that in



1975 the budget appropriated for this purpose totalled 583.3 million pesos—more than five times the amount spent in 1959, which was 114.3 million, and almost as much as the country's total budget before the Revolution. Every 24 hours, 1.6 million pesos are spent on social security. This shows what the Revolution has done to protect and ensure the living conditions and livelihood of our working people, whatever their circumstances.

In addition to the steps taken and the above-mentioned outlays, there is the social welfare provided by the local power and also the life rents paid to those who were affected by the Urban Reform and the Agrarian Reform.

Even during the early years of the Revolution, when the struggle was sharper and the plan for paid work done by convicts did not yet exist, a State fund was allocated to the Ministry of the Interior—and still subsists—to help the needy children and relatives of people convicted for counter-revolutionary crimes. Thus, absolutely no one in our country has been left unprotected. Our Draft Constitution embodies these principles, which make our well-knit and humane society a thousand times more just.

### *The Solution to Unemployment*

In 1958, the population of Cuba was more than 6,700,000. About one-third of the working population—approximately 700,000 people—were unemployed, over 45 per cent of them concentrated in the rural areas.

Over 100,000 young people reached working age every year, but they had no prospects of a job. To this must be added the discrimination by color and sex. Cuban Blacks and mestizos had no possibility of finding jobs, except under the worst conditions and at the

lowest pay, jobs which in most cases were degrading and debasing to human dignity.

From the outset, the Revolution adopted measures to eradicate unemployment by boosting agricultural activities, construction and industrial production. The exceptional impetus given to the social services also generated a great number of jobs. Tens of thousands of people, among them many who were skilled but had no jobs, at once started to work in education, public health and the other social services.

Today, over 400,000 persons are working in the branches of education and public health alone. Services in the defense of the country and the security of the nation demanded an equally considerable number of men. Before the introduction of military service, these services were manned mainly from the work centers, and this created the need for new workers to take over for those who left.

With the new schools and the scholarship plans, young people, who once joined the ranks of the unemployed, had many opportunities to study.

A few years after the triumph of the Revolution, the situation was totally reversed. There were not enough people to fill the jobs. It became necessary to muster industrial workers, soldiers and students to take part in the sugar cane harvesting.

The cruel labor discrimination disappeared, and there was, besides, a substantial involvement of women: as compared with the 194,000 women employed in 1958—70 per cent of them as servants—the figure for 1975 was 647,000, that is, 3.3 times higher, only in the State civil sector, where 28 per cent of those employed are women.

The Revolution created 1,400,000 new jobs, of them almost 500,000 between 1970 and 1974.

Considering occupation by sex in the last period, male employment has grown by 23 per cent, and female by 40 per cent.

The number of university graduates and interme-

diante-level technicians per 1,000 workers has considerably increased. In 1970, it was 19 per 1,000; in 1975, 49; by 1980 we expect to have 81 per 1,000.

Besides, the Social Service Law, passed in 1973, has constituted a valuable mechanism through which we ensure three years' permanence of employment for higher and intermediate-level graduates at the work centers to which they are assigned, in accordance with the country's social and economic needs.

Before the Revolution, employment increased at a rate of 37,900 workers a year; in the 17 years of the Revolution the average increase has been 82,300. In this period, the average growth rate in employment has been 3.6 and that of the population 2.1. In addition, hundreds of thousands of adolescents and young people also participate in production through the work-study system.

It was necessary to form the Youth Army of Labor in order to meet the demand for human resources in some sectors of the economy where the population level is lower, and to create in this period thousands of workers' canteens, primary semi-boardng schools, intermediate-level boarding schools, and day-care centers, to facilitate the involvement in work of the whole family, women in particular.

In our country, even convicts are involved in production activity and receive a salary.

Vagrancy has been outlawed.

Our Draft Constitution establishes the right to work as one of the fundamental principles of our society. No other country in our hemisphere can display such an achievement.

### *Labor Policy*

In capitalist times, wages were used as an instrument to divide and weaken the working class. Due to the nature of that system and to the interest of the bourgeoisie in developing sections of privileged workers

for its own benefit, huge wage gaps were created among the various branches of the economy and even within a given sector, with the result that in many cases the highest wages did not coincide with the country's interests, or with a fair distribution of wages. Cuban workers, who through their struggle had achieved some improvements in labor legislation, saw their employers constantly making a mockery of their rights. The hundreds of thousands of unemployed and underemployed produced by the system were an army posing a constant threat to the security of those who did work. Thus, upon the triumph of the Revolution, there was total anarchy in wages.

Immediately after the revolutionary victory, the owners of the factories and latifundia, the representatives of foreign consortia and the bosses did their worst to aggravate these differences, demagogically raising wages in a vain attempt to divide the people and cause difficulties for the Revolution.

From the very moment of its triumph, the Revolution secured the most absolute respect for the working people's gains. The abandonment of factories by their owners, the necessity of merging thousands of downright primitive units and of relocating the workers, together with the lack of raw materials due to the criminal blockade, could not deprive the workers of their jobs or salaries. The traditional salaries were maintained independently of the jobs. Later, with the freezing of salaries in 1962, the introduction of a new salary scale, the creation of new organisms and enterprises, and owing to administrative weakness and unforeseen factors, the practice of maintaining the workers' salaries became generalized even when they were transferred to lower-paid jobs, thus deforming the traditional salary concept. When the implementation of the salary scale began in 1962, 79.9 per cent of the working people had the right to receive the differential between the remuneration corresponding to the job they had and the traditional salary they had previously

earned. The implementation of all the measures of the new salary system, which improved the condition of many workers, made it possible in 1972, on the eve of the 13th Workers' Congress, to reduce that figure and pay the differential to only 18.9 per cent of the non-agricultural workers.

In the past, the enormous wage differences kept the broad masses with very low incomes for many years. In 1959, 350,000 cane-cutters got a first increase in their wages, which are now 96 per cent higher than those earned in 1958. The stabilization of salaries in the sugar industry ensured employment during the whole year to 73,000 workers who up to then had worked only three or four months in the year and suffered from the so-called dead season. The adequate organization of this labor force after each sugar harvest is an important reserve for the national economy.

Together with this there were noble acts, like that of the teachers in the early years of the Revolution, who, despite their very low salaries, decided to work for half of their salaries so that the number of classrooms could be increased to 10,000 because there was only a budget for 5,000, and thus made a decisive contribution to the educational effort which the Revolution started. At present, the salaries of primary and intermediate-level school teachers are respectively 1.4 and 1.6 times those of the capitalist period.

In the first decade of the Revolution, almost one million people started to work for the first time, which meant a 58.5 per cent increase in the country's labor force, with full employment of the male force. The total payroll in 1970 was 3,079 million pesos, and in 1975, 4,255 million, approximately 40 per cent more. In 1975, salaries accounted for 79 per cent of the population's total income. The average monthly salary is now 136 pesos, 21 per cent higher than that of 1970. The average monthly income per family unit is 203 pesos. Today, one member of the family has an income in 50 per cent of Cuban families; two in 30 per cent;

3 in 12 per cent, and more than four in 8 per cent.

With the Revolution, conditions were created for the scientific organization of labor. The inherited wage distortion was accompanied by an absolute lack of technical organization in everything pertaining to labor, with different nomenclatures for the same post, a lack of output rates, and a total lack of technicians in this matter. It was necessary to analyze more than 10,000 jobs listed in 340 job registers according to their features, the rates in relation to the complexity and conditions of the work, and the various forms of payment, so as to apply, in 1967, a coherent salary system and to link up output rates and salaries in a new way. In 1970, as a result of the deterioration that took place in the period between 1967 and 1970, a number of measures were put into operation to optimize the use of human resources. At present, 68,091 units, with 1,620,969 workers, operate with output rates. Today, 48 per cent of all working people have output rates, and 20 per cent receive their salaries on a piece-rate or output basis.

With about few hundreds of rate-setters at the beginning, we now have 10,000, while the new Julián Grimau Intermediate Technicians Training Institute has graduated 860 technicians.

The connection between output rates and the various types of piece-rate payments has now yielded positive results, such as the increase of productivity per man-shift at our ports, from 3.6 to 8.4 tons; in the hand-cotting of sugar cane up to 10.8 per cent; 36 per cent in the structural materials industry, with 70 per cent of its units working with output rates; 74 per cent in road transport; and 10 per cent in the light industry, with 62.9 per cent of its workers connected with rates. The introduction of the fundamental principles of the scientific organization of labor, and technical standards in particular, will make it possible to continue raising productivity, reducing costs and increasing efficiency, as our economy requires.

### *The Judicial System. Advances in the Administration of Justice*

Throughout these years, as in all other aspects of national life, we have made considerable advances in creating and perfecting a system of judicial and procurator's organs, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principles governing our society.

In this field, the first steps of the Revolution were limited to dissolving the Extraordinary Tribunals, revived by the tyranny for brutal and arbitrary repression in trials, lacking the most elementary guarantees, of revolutionaries and of anyone, who in any way opposed or made demands on the monopolies and other major exploiters; to purging the judiciary of patent servants of the March 10 coup and corrupted and mercenary elements; and to organizing the Revolutionary Courts to try war criminals, torturers and assassins.

The initial steps to effect a profound change in the judicial structure, which, together with the changes introduced by the Yankee invaders and some other modifications, had subsisted since the period of Spanish rule, were taken in 1963, with the establishment of the first People's Courts empowered to try crimes entailing punishment not exceeding 180 days of imprisonment, with benches of judges elected at mass assemblies.

After the corresponding draft was submitted for public discussion with the participation of more than 3,000,000 citizens, the Law on the Organization of the Judicial System was adopted in 1973.

The Law established a single system of Courts across the country, presided over by the People's Supreme Court. All the courts are collegial, consisting of professional and lay judges, who are all elected, and who can be periodically renewed and recalled. All judicial judgements can be appealed against with the next higher court.

The new Procurator's Office has as its main function the exercise of vigilance over the most scrupulous

observance of socialist legality, not only in the courts but also in the activity of State organisms.

In order to practice law in court, lawyers must be members of a Law Office Collective which the Law acknowledges as an autonomous body working for the social interest.

A coherent judicial system has thus been organized, and it is profoundly democratic, closely linked with the masses, capable of serving the purposes of socialist justice, and the task of raising the level of juridical social consciousness.

Remarkable progress has been made by the Ministry of Justice, whose administrative role has grown, with emphasis on advisory assistance to high-level State organisms and a remarkable contribution to the drafting of the fundamental legal texts.

Jurists are called upon to play a more important role with the advancing perfection of our State and the new mechanisms of the Economy Direction System. We shall need more jurists, better prepared and specializing in the different branches of Law. We still have to set up a National Association of Jurists, which should be the main vehicle for technical and professional advancement of its members.

Our socialist Law, as demanded by Martí for free nations, has to develop in such a way as to serve the objectives of our society with growing efficiency. This is the revolutionary jurist's most important task.

#### IV. THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Among the tasks that now require more attention from the Party, perhaps none is of such political importance as that of making the strength and unity attained throughout our process a permanent reality embodied in solid and high-quality institutions.

If we make our Revolution rest upon principles that no one can transgress, and upon efficient and lasting

institutions consolidating our people's achievements forever ensuring the reign of capacity and merit, as the prime and indefeasible law of our Party and of all the other revolutionary institutions, we shall have assured the uninterrupted and ever-ascending advance of our process in the future, which will be ever more exemplary in its unity, ever firmer in its ideology, and ever purer in the honesty and soundness of the ideals of the men and women who are carrying it forward.

Our Revolutionary State has had a provisional structure for many years. The Revolution did not hasten to establish any definitive State forms in our country. It was not a matter of more expediency, but of creating solid, lasting and thoroughly considered institutions that would meet the country's realities. But this provisional status has already lasted too long, and the time has come to put an end to it. The process has enough maturity and experience to undertake this task and to accomplish it thoroughly. Besides, it is a necessity that cannot be put off, a historic and moral duty of this generation of revolutionaries.

In the past few years, above all, the tasks aimed to strengthen socialist legality have been further and steadily promoted. Valuable revolutionary legislation has been drafted, discussed and approved, such as the Law on the Organization of the Judicial System, the Law on the Penal Procedure, and the Law on the Civil and Administrative Procedure, and the Family Code.

The adoption of the Constitution assumes outstanding political, institutional and juridical importance. It will substitute for the old 1940 Fundamental Law, which has been in force up to now, with the innumerable amendments and patches arising from the continual clash between a profound revolutionary process and the formulations of a bourgeois constitution. Such modifications were made by the simple expedient of a Council of Ministers decision, by virtue of a clause added to it by the victorious Revolution.

Today, we need a socialist Constitution in accordance with the characteristics of our society and our people's social consciousness, ideological convictions and aspirations. A Constitution that reflects the general laws of the society we are building, the profound economic, social and political transformations effected by the Revolution, and the historic achievements of our people. In short, a Constitution to consolidate what we are today, and to help us achieve what we want to be tomorrow.

The working out of the Draft Constitution has been thorough. The Draft synthesizes the experience of our own people and the universal experience of the peoples who started earlier on the building of a socialist society. We believe it is a text worthy of the first socialist State of workers and peasants, of workers by hand and by brain, on the American continent, a State in which the sovereignty and all the power truly belong to the working people, a power based on collective property in the means of production and on a solid alliance of workers and peasants, guided by the working class and its organized Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba, the highest leading force of society and the State.

But together with the profoundly revolutionary content of our Law of Laws, it is worthwhile to mention the process of exemplary socialist democracy through which our people are to adopt its Constitution. About 6,200,000 men and women participated in the discussion of the Draft, assembled in organizations and organisms of the Party, the Labor Unions, the CDRs, the FMC, the ANAP, the FEU, the FEEM, in military units and our missions abroad. Except only for the children, all the other citizens participated directly and personally in analyzing the Draft; 5,500,000 voted in favor of adopting the Draft without any modifications; 16,000 proposed various modifications and additions supported by the votes of more than 600,000 participants in the various assemblies. Thus, enriched

by popular discussion and perfected by the Central Preparatory Commission, we have obtained the text on which our Congress is to express its view and which is to be submitted to a referendum on February 15, to enable our people in a free, equal and universal vote by secret ballot, finally to sanction the Constitution, which is to be solemnly proclaimed on February 24, the national holiday marking the 81st anniversary of the glorious War of Independence of 1895, fruit of the tireless efforts of José Martí and his glorious Cuban Revolutionary Party.

What a source of immense revolutionary and human satisfaction it is to enact on that day a Constitution that, as a synthesis of our people's historic struggle, consecrates the desire of our national hero that the Cubans' cult of the full dignity of man should be the prime law of our Republic.

Bourgeois constitutions, even in countries with deep-rooted constitutional traditions, do not and cannot go beyond the proclamation of formal liberties and rights that the ferocious class society tramples and ignores day by day. By contrast, our Constitution will be there to be totally and thoroughly fulfilled, and each right established by it is a true, valid, and tangible right, fully guaranteed by the material, political and moral work of the Revolution.

Everyone's right to employment and freedom from the exploitation and enforced unemployment that are a constant scourge of the working people in the capitalist world.

The right of the peasants to the land, and freedom forever from high rents, sharecropping, the threat of eviction, and the extortion by latifundists, warehouse owners and imperialist companies.

The right of every child, young person or adult to free, public and scientific education, aimed to prepare one for life and for the enjoyment of the wealth of culture.

The right of all sick persons to free medical assis-

tance and hospitalization, which becomes an immediate reality even in the remotest regions of our country.

The right to enjoy physical education, sports and recreation, as instruments of our people's all-round development, health and happiness.

The right to rest and to enjoy holiday with pay for all working people.

The right to be protected by social security in old age, in case of illness and accidents.

The right of working women to paid maternity leave, guaranteeing safe parturition and care for the newborn.

The right of women to be equal, to receive equal pay, to be equal in civil, political and social life and within the family.

The right of all citizens, regardless of the color of their skin or birthplace, to full equality in every aspect, to live and to move about with dignity, free from humiliating and repulsive discrimination.

The right of all citizens to organize in labor unions, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, peasant associations, and women's, students', writers' and artists', professional, scientific and sports associations, and others, with a recognized role in society and the assurance of free development.

The right of all citizens, including young people from the age of 16 years on, women and members of the military institutions, to participate in the political life of the country and freely to cast their vote, universal and secret, in the elections, and to recall, by their vote, those they have elected.

Whereas in the countries which are victims of fascism, of reaction and imperialist domination, the existing limited rights are abolished, violated and denied; labor unions, students' organizations and other mass associations are banned and persecuted; arbitrariness, torture and murder of workers, peasants and progressive elements proliferate; discrimination increases against women, Blacks and other oppressed sectors of

the population, we have elevated these rights to the level of constitutional rules and have incorporated them in the nation's highest legal text.

Whereas in those countries the institutions of the curtailed and hypocritical bourgeois representative democracy are wound up, our Constitution provides for the creation of the representative organs of the proletarian State: the National Assembly and the Provincial and Municipal Assemblies of the People's Power, the former made up of deputies, and the latter of delegates, all of them to be elected, responsible and subjected to recall, like the judges in all our courts.

Rights and duties are naturally complementary. In a society without exploiters, work, while being a right, is also to be a duty of every member of society and an honor for the working person.

It is everyone's duty to respect and to observe the Constitution and the laws, to defend the Homeland, in brief, to contribute by their effort to the construction of socialism.

The Draft defines the principles of our country's foreign policy on the basis of proletarian and socialist internationalism; on the principles of friendship and cooperation with the peoples fighting for their sovereignty, progress and development; on Martí's principles of cooperation and progress toward unity with the Latin American and Caribbean countries; and on fraternal friendship, assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our Constitution will be the basis for the further development of socialist legality.

Its adoption imposes upon us the task of adjusting to its supreme rules all our legislation, all our other rules, our whole juridical system. We must, therefore, give an impetus to the task of eliminating obsolete practices contained in the military orders of the interventionists, in the Codes come down from colonial times, in the laws and decrees of the bourgeois Repub-

lic, and of adopting new codes, adapted to the socialist nature of our society under construction. We must, in brief, complete the destruction of the legality of the exploiters, which served their interests, and erect in its place, also completely, our socialist legality. We must continue working purposefully in this direction in the years ahead. Each and every one of us must be a solid bulwark of the Constitution, which the people will adopt, apply and comply with revolutionary law, as strict defenders of socialist legality.

#### V. THE POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Another very important task we must carry out in the coming months is the application of the new politico-administrative division of the country.

With the exception of a few modifications, the politico-administrative division that the Revolution found when it took over in 1959 was the same as that which had been established by the Spanish colonial regime in 1878, in itself arbitrary and contrary to the country's geographical, economic and social realities. The Island was then divided into six provinces, which still exist, and 132 municipalities.

At that time, the province of Santiago de Cuba, according to the 1877 census, had 16 per cent of the country's population, and Matanzas, 17 per cent.

Almost a hundred years later, the 1970 census, made according to the politico-administrative division which maintained the existence of the six provinces, showed that the province of Oriente had a population six times larger than that of Matanzas.

On the one hand, the revolutionary changes have enhanced the role and authority of the provinces that up until then had had a nature more symbolic than real, but which at the same time have led, since 1963, to the establishment of the regions, as an intermediate link between these and the municipalities whose num-



ber, for various reasons, has also increased considerably. If upon the triumph of the Revolution there were six provinces and 126 municipalities, in 1973 we find that, keeping mainly within the original provincial boundaries, there were 58 territorial regions and 407 municipalities and sectionals. Consequently, the direction structure comprised three intermediate links between the national and the ground level: the province, the region and the municipality or sectional.

These realities have led to an excessive separation between the central organs of power and the industries, the agro-live-stock units and other economic, educational or service centers at the ground level, complicating the direction, organization and control tasks of our Party, State organisms and mass organizations.

With such a structure, the need for cadres, officials and administrative and service employees has grown exceptionally. An example is that of the 200,000 public administration and auxiliary service workers employed at different levels, from the national to the municipal, 38 per cent are concentrated in the regional apparatus, and only 16 per cent in the municipalities.

With the new organization, we hope to attain a considerable economy in cadres and personnel in general.

But the main thing is that the present politico-administrative division is neither rational nor functional in the light of the demands of our planned economic and social development, of the perfection of revolutionary State institutions which we will accomplish immediately, and of a higher-quality level of political and mass tasks that, at this new stage, face our Party and the rest of our people's organized forces.

There is absolutely no uniformity in population numbers in our present provinces, regions and municipalities. Besides, the actual boundaries were fixed when there was even no comprehensive or all-round analysis which was indispensable to determine on a

scientific basis the correct politico-administrative division, taking into account the country's geographical realities, distribution of population, economic activity and its development prospects, traditions and links among the various localities, the existing and projected road networks, migrations and other important factors.

At various times, the most possible complete analysis of these problems was carried out, of which the valuable experiment of the organs of people's power in the province of Matanzas was a part.

This analysis has taken into consideration the greater functions and powers which are to be transferred to the provinces as a result of the constitution of the organs of people's power; the strengthening of authority and economic importance of the municipalities, which will be engaged in the administration of thousands of units, directed up to now by the State central organisms; the need to give the territorial levels the powers to facilitate the planning and administration of economic and social activities, in keeping with the Economy Direction System, demanding an adequate relation between centralization and decentralization in decision-making, involvement of the masses in this direction, and the most efficient organization of economic management.

As a result, three fundamental conclusions have been drawn. First, that it was possible and desirable to make the politico-administrative structure simpler by eliminating the regional level. Second, that, on the strength of the above arguments, it was necessary to create a larger number of provinces. Third, that it was likewise essential to reduce the number of municipalities, in accordance with the criterion of uniformity with reference to area and population, productive activities, services, communications and other aspects.

As a result of this work, a project of politico-administrative division into 14 provinces was agreed upon: Pinar del Río, Havana, Havana City, Matanzas,

Villa Clara, Cienfuegos, Sancti Spíritus, Ciego de Avila, Camagüey, Las Tunas, Holguín, Granma, Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo.

Isla de Pinos is to continue as a special municipality directly under the nation's central levels.

These provinces will be subdivided into 169 municipalities which are to be determined, with their clear boundaries, in the early months of the coming year, so as to prepare the necessary conditions for the establishment of constituencies from which the delegates to the Municipal Assemblies of the People's Power are to be elected in October 1976.

We sincerely believe that with the adoption of this new territorial division our Homeland and Revolution will take an important stride toward higher forms of organization and direction.

Of course, such a measure always touches very closely upon the feelings and customs deeply rooted in all our people. It has not been easy for us to accept the idea of dividing some of our provinces, just as it will not be easy, for some of us, to stop calling ourselves *orientales*. On the other hand, many important cities and regions of the country such as Cienfuegos, Sancti Spíritus, Ciego de Avila, Tunas, Holguín, Bayamo and Manzanillo, now called Granma and Guantánamo, become provinces, so promoting better administration of the whole country. We are convinced that, far from drifting apart, we shall daily become more united, that at this new stage, the revolutionary traditions of those who come from Oriente, Camagüey, Las Villas, Matanzas, Havana, Isla de Pinos and Pinar del Río will grow stronger and multiply; that the newly constituted provinces and their leaders will forge the closest and most solid bonds of brotherhood, cooperation, assistance and fraternal emulation. We are convinced that all the organs and cadres of our Party, our people's organizations and the State will devote themselves, with true dedication and revolutionary ardor, to the all-out effort that the transition to this new

structure of political and administrative direction will require and that we must tackle together with other tasks of equal importance.

## VI. THE MASS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Our people has formed powerful mass organizations. This has been one of the most fruitful aspects of our revolutionary process. These organized forces of the people acknowledge and freely and consciously accept the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

These mass and social organizations are our Revolution's powerful and inexhaustible source of political and revolutionary energy. They ensure the Party's closest bonds with the broad masses. They ensure its influence in education, guidance and mobilization. They are the great school that helps to develop the conscience of millions and millions of working people, men and women, the old, the young and the children. They are the forge where innumerable cadres and revolutionary militants are moulded. They make it possible for our Party's leadership to keep in touch with the feelings, problems and opinions of every sector of the population, whose specific interests they defend and represent.

### *The Workers' Organization*

The Central Organization of Cuban Labor Unions (CTC), the glorious labor union organization of our working class, has a force of over 2,065,000 men and women within its ranks.

The CTC, founded in 1939, has carried on the patriotic legacy of the emigré Cuban workers who, together with José Martí, founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party, and of the struggles of our first labor union

organization, set up 50 years ago, the National Workers' Confederation of Cuba, which later, under the guidance of Ruben Martínez Villena and of the first Marxist-Leninist Party, played an outstanding role in the struggle against the Machado tyranny.

Despite the tide of terror unleashed against the revolutionary working-class movement, the workers' resistance to Batista's regime assumed the form of numerous manifestations. On January 1, 1959, our working class, in a vigorous response to the Rebel Army's call for a revolutionary general strike, paralyzed the whole country and came out into the streets, so making a decisive contribution to frustrating the moves of imperialism and to bringing about the triumph of the Revolution.

The revolutionary CTC has played a decisive role in all the battles of the Revolution for the power of the working class, the nationalization of the country's main wealth, the Literacy Campaign, the mobilization for the sugar cane harvesting, the maintenance of production under the imperialist economic blockade, and innumerable other efforts, which have made possible the victory and consolidation of the first socialist revolution on the American Continent.

Our militant working-class movement is a vortan of 15 People's Zafras, in which it has sustained and assured the main economic activity of the nation. The participation of urban workers as volunteer cane-cutters became an honor and a fine proletarian initiative, like that of the Millionaire Brigade Movement. In the most recent sugar harvesting, thanks to the rising labor productivity of our brigades, voluntary and regular cane-cutters cut down 178 million *arrobas* more than in 1974, and this achieved with fewer workers than in the previous harvest. In this sugar harvesting campaign, our working class had 680 millionaire and multi-millionaire brigades, 57 collectives who won the Jesús Menéndez Special Award, while 1,024 workers became Zafra Heroes and Heroines.

The Millionaire Movement is today one of the cornerstones in our efforts to boost productivity and to cut down to the utmost on the manpower needed for the sugar harvesting, as we advance to complete the mechanization of cane-cutting.

All over the country the labor union movement has encouraged the construction microbrigades, now totaling 1,150, with over 27,000 workers in their ranks, and giving such an enthusiastic and solid impetus to the construction of housing, schools, industries, day-care centers, shops and other economic and public facilities.

There is growing awareness of the importance and need of the working people's cultural and technical advancement. Our labor unions have started a drive to have all our workers, by 1980, reach the six-grade level of schooling as a minimum. One million workers still lack this level, which indicates the magnitude of the effort to be made.

The amateur cultural movement and mass sports have advanced. Concern with social problems, and efforts to improve working conditions and guarantee the workers' rights embodied in labor and social legislation have also been a permanent task of our labor unions.

Socialist emulation has recently risen to extraordinary heights. Thousands of work centers have fulfilled and overfulfilled their production plans for the year as a tribute from our working class to the First Congress, some of them accomplishing real feats of labor. Especially strong were the vanguard movements among the weavers, dockworkers, metallurgists, builders and the working people of other professions, which reflects the drive and revolutionary spirit of our working class.

In line with the decisions taken by the 13th Congress, the title of National Hero of Labor has been established, and awarded this year to the country's 34 most outstanding workers in all fields.

Since 1970, the labor union movement has undergone a fruitful democratic revitalization and reorganization process which has culminated in the formation of 23 national labor unions and the holding of the highly important 13th Congress of the CTC in November 1973, to whose success our unforgettable Comrade Lázaro Peña dedicated his last energies. We can say today with legitimate satisfaction that the Revolution can count on a strong and well-seasoned labor movement, capable of coping with new tasks, worthy of the historical traditions of our working class, and worthy of the role the Cuban proletariat has played all those 17 years.

Following the 13th Congress, a commission for implementing and applying the decisions taken was formed by decision of the Political Bureau, to consist of representatives of the Central Committee of the Party, the CTC and the Ministry of Labor. The Central Organization of Cuban Labor Unions has advanced earnestly and firmly in its work as the main driving force in fulfilling those decisions aimed to attain the most correct application of the principles of socialist distribution. The output rate-salary connection, especially, has been proved fully correct by the tangible productive achievements. As a result of this work, output and productivity have increased, while labor costs for one peso of output have been reduced, so helping to economize on labor power and other resources. At present, the output rate-salary connection has been extended to 571,000 workers at 8,549 work centers all over the country.

Another outstanding task of the labor union movement in recent years has been its participation in mass discussion with all the working people of the 1975 and 1976 economic plan targets, an effort which has been of great importance in perfecting our socialist planning by spreading the broadest information about the tasks to be fulfilled at each work center and, at the same time, hearing, analyzing and incorporating in

the plans, wherever possible, the opinions and experience of the workers and of the intermediate and ground-level organs of the Party, labor unions and the Administration.

More than 1,260,000 workers participated in the discussion of the 1975 plan. This year, with more experience and higher standards, more than 1,340,000 workers participated in analyzing and discussing the target figures for 1976, the first year of the five-year period.

But, above all, the most important result of the work done by the Central Organization of Cuban Labor Unions at this stage of the Revolution in power has been its contribution to advancing the revolutionary consciousness of our working class, and to fostering in it a new, collectivist attitude to work and social property. The firmest guarantee of the permanence, solidity and uninterrupted advance of our revolutionary process is this consciousness, forged in massive participation in defense, voluntary work, cultural and technical advancement, the daily battle in production, in practicing labor union democracy and in the feeling of dignity that the Revolution has strengthened in every working person through active participation in all decisions that affect his life.

### *The Peasants' Organization*

The National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) was formed on May 17, 1961, the 15th anniversary of the assassination of the peasant Niceto Pérez and the second anniversary of the First Agrarian Reform Law.

ANAP now has 232,358 members all over the country, who are grouped in 6,162 primary units. Of this total, 162,126 are farm owners, and the rest are members of their families.

It was the poor peasants who mostly joined the ranks of *mambisas* troops in 1868 and 1895; it was they who in the bourgeois republic waged a brave

struggle for the land, against evictions and abuses by foreign companies and latifundists, such as the struggle of Realengo 18, Las Ventas de Casanova, Caujerí, and Las Maboas; it was they who organized themselves to defend their rights by creating the National Peasant Association of Cuba, a worthy predecessor of ANAP; it was they who first helped us to survive in the mountains and very often, at the cost of their own lives, firmly supported the Rebel Army by joining its ranks together with agricultural workers and rallying around it to fight for the triumph of the Revolution.

ANAP came into being as the continuator of these traditions of struggle and as a result of the transformative work of the Revolution, which by its Agrarian Reform and other revolutionary laws established the basis for a most solid alliance between our workers and our working peasants.

This organization has not only played an important role in the efforts to raise production and procurement in the peasant sector—a significant economic force, which carries the most weight in growing crops like tobacco and coffee, which contributes almost one-half of the national procurement of fruit, root crops and vegetables, and has 26 per cent of the country's livestock population and 18 per cent of the sugar cane—but it has also contributed to furthering the social transformation of our countryside. This organization has participated in mobilizing the peasant masses into the ranks of the Militia and of the Revolutionary Armed Forces for the struggle against counter-revolution and the bands organized by the CIA in the country's mountains and plains. It has contributed to various tasks in the fields of education, public health, culture, sports and recreation; it has worked to spread revolutionary ideas among private farmers, to advance them politically and ideologically, and for the triumph of the Revolution's positions in the face of the corrosive work by some religious sects with

a marked political character, in the face of obscurantism and of all the other campaigns carried out by our ideological enemies in the rural areas.

During the latest sugar cane harvesting, there were 256 millionaire brigades among the peasant cane-cutters and 232 working people earned the title of Zafra Heroes and Heroines.

The Fourth Congress of ANAP, held in December 1971, made a notable contribution to the work of that peasant organization in the past few years and helped to overcome certain difficulties and mistakes in some agricultural development plans in connection with relations with the peasants and also in connection with certain cases relating to the mobilizations for the 1970 sugar cane harvest.

The revolutionary policy of unfailing respect for the free will of the working peasant, of effectively assisting and supporting him, is the solid basis on which the peasant-worker alliance today develops, growing stronger and stronger. We must continue to advance on these very same principles.

We think this is the right time to raise a question we believe to be important.

Our population, which in 1958 amounted to 6,763,061 inhabitants, had by June 1975 increased to 9,296,068. Our country now has approximately 85 persons per square kilometer.

By contrast, our arable land, amounting to 7,097,838 hectares, has not been extended. Furthermore, the cities, industrial facilities, schools, hospitals, rural houses, storage lakes, dairy farms and other agricultural installations, railroads, highways, high-voltage lines, etc., have steadily further reduced the available area. Structures and roads now occupy more than 600,000 hectares.

Our country not only has to produce milk, meat, rice, root crops and other foodstuffs for the population, but must also obtain from the soil millions of tons of sugar, the basis of our livelihood, for export.

The land per head has diminished with the population growth from year to year. Whereas in 1958 we had approximately 1.04 hectares of arable land per inhabitant, including pastures, in 1975 we have only 0.76 hectare. From this 0.76 hectare, that is 7,600 square meters, or three quarters of a city block, per Cuban, we must produce enough to feed every one of them and, also, to export increasing quantities of sugar, which by 1980 will amount to nearly 0.8 ton per inhabitant. And, in an ever increasing manner, the more people the country has and the more facilities of all kinds that we construct, the fewer square meters of arable land per head will there be available. This obliges us to cultivate all the land, up to the last square centimeter, and increasingly to develop intensive and more mechanized agriculture. That cannot be done on the basis of minifundia, where no use can be made of agricultural aviation or of the *combinadas* (cano-cutting and lifting machines), or big machines, or large-scale irrigation systems, which can be mechanized and automated, or many other techniques which allow the maximum use of land and raise productivity per worker and per hectare.

For this reason, when we celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Agrarian Reform, we told our peasantry—who still own 30 per cent of the arable land, highly fragmented and scattered throughout the country—about the imperative need for our people to promote superior methods of agricultural production, at the social as well as the technical level, and in two feasible ways: by joining in the nation's large-scale agricultural plans and the cooperatives.

Moreover, only this will allow us some day to provide all peasant families with electricity, running water, the housing conditions required by every family, and the best cultural, educational and medical services, something that can never be achieved so long as the peasants are scattered all over the country.

This aspect is extensively analyzed in the thesis previously discussed in all the small farmers' units and now before this Congress.

What we want to stress is that this advance need not and cannot be made overnight, even if it were desirable, nor would this be convenient. It has to be carried out with mature reflection and responsibility, a careful analysis being made, in keeping with the country's requirements, as to when, where and how these steps should be taken, and which one in each case. For example, in the mountainous zones, with their terrain and the difficulties of introducing technology, there is no urgency or immediate necessity of implementing these ideas.

The adoption of the thesis by a small farmers' unit does not imply the commitment to pool the land. It simply constitutes the democratic expression of an opinion. Association with a state plan or an agricultural cooperative can be carried out only with the absolutely free will of every individual farmer, when he becomes convinced that this is his duty and is in his interest.

The Revolution respects and will respect every farmer's free will. The peasantry is the ally of the working class. The latter will never use coercive methods against its brothers in the struggle or depart from the use of persuasion, whether this is successful or not. This principle will be scrupulously respected.

That is what we want to say once more to our peasants.

We know that new generations are growing up and are being educated in the spirit of lofty revolutionary concepts; that our peasants' old way of life will become a thing of the past as have already poverty, exploitation, illiteracy, neglect, and injustice, and that our whole people—among them, as in every epoch of our history, our heroic and enthusiastic peasants—will advance in step with history, the Homeland's requirements and the call of the Revolution.

## *The Women's Organization*

The Federation of Cuban Women, founded on August 23, 1960, through the unification of all the existing women's revolutionary organizations, has grown rapidly from a few thousand members to 2,127,000 women workers, peasants, students, housewives, professionals and members of FAR and MININT, and now comprises 80 per cent of our female population over 14 years of age.

The Cuban women's tradition of struggle dates back to the first outbreaks of insurgency in our country against the cruelty of the conquerors and the whip of the slave-owners. The patriotism of our *mambisas* has written moving pages into the chronicle of the 1868 and 1895 epics, in which figures of such stature as Ana Betancourt and Mariana Grajales stood out. Revolutionary women workers, peasants, students and intellectuals were in the front lines of the struggle against the Machado tyranny, against imperialism and in defending the people's interests during the pseudo-republic. Cuban women were present at Moncada, in the ranks of the Rebel Army guerrillas and in the dangerous underground struggle following the 26th of July, 1953. They have played, with honor, a growing role in all the revolutionary endeavors since the victory of the First of January.

Cuban women, doubly humiliated and relegated to the background by the semicolonial society, had need of this organization of their own to represent their specific interests and to work for broader participation in the economic, political and social life of the Revolution.

Guided by this objective, the Federation of Cuban Women has carried out countless valuable activities in the most varied fields. It has helped to involve over half a million women in production and the services; it has mobilized women for many mass tasks, such as the country's defense, the Literacy Campaign, advancement courses, agricultural work, public health,

solidarity with other peoples, and political studies and many others, whose most important and decisive result has been the remarkable change worked in the political and ideological consciousness of our female population, undoubtedly one of the most outstanding historical victories that the Revolution can now display.

The following data, among others, illustrate the FMC's activities: some 900,000 women have joined the Mothers' Fighting for Education Movement; since 1960, over 500,000 women have graduated from the Dress-Making Schools; over 110,000 peasant women belong to the FMC-ANAP brigades; 1.5 million FMC members attend the organization's health discussions; over 50,000 women are members of hygiene brigades, and over 13,000 are engaged in noteworthy activities as social workers. This year, during which the FMC has made an all-out effort to mark the First Party Congress, over 95,000 women have become salaried workers; the number of women involved in construction work has increased four times, more than 20,000 comrades joining in this work while previously such a target seemed unfeasible; 221 million *arrobas* of cane were piled up, and over 7 million sessions of voluntary work were held in various sectors of the economy.

In these fifteen years, the FMC has been at the center of the magnificent movement to enhance the dignity and advance the social and human emancipation of our women, and it will continue to be at the center of the struggle to eradicate the last discriminatory prejudices and achieve full equality and emancipation for women. The important Second Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women, held in November 1974, declared this to be its objective. This is a battle of truly historic significance, which concerns all of us revolutionaries, and in which the women's organization will invariably be supported by the entire political and ideological strength of our Party, our people's organizations, and the organs of the revolutionary State.



### *The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution*

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, in which our people legitimately take pride, emerged in the very midst of the revolutionary struggle on September 28, 1960, as the masses' crushing and militant response to the counter-revolutionary terrorism, and they are today the most massive organization, with 4,800,000 members, who represent 80 per cent of the country's population over the age of 14.

The CDRs were organized in response to a call of the Revolution's leadership for vigilance and struggle against the enemy. When the mercenary attack at Playa Girón was launched, the Defense Committees vigorously supported the State Security Organs in blocking any internal action by counter-revolutionary elements. They were also mobilized during the October Crisis and in the face of every aggressive act or threat from imperialism. The CDRs played the role of a task force in the intensive political and ideological struggle of the first years of the Revolution when the enemies of our people, impelled by their class hatred, venomously spread slanders and engineered provocations. The CDRs also played an important role in the struggle against the black market and in organizing food supplies.

Since 1961, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have been working steadily to educate and ideologically advance the broadest masses of our people; they have made a valuable contribution to solidarity tasks by mobilizing their members to study the struggles waged by the peoples and to undertake concrete action to support them and express friendship with the socialist countries; they have consistently promoted voluntary work as an invaluable factor in developing the revolutionary consciousness of the masses; they have carried forward the tasks of the CDR-FAR front to promote the patriotic-military

preparedness of the young and their families; and they have worked with their habitual vigor to develop cultural, sports and recreation activities among our people.

The CDRs constitute a force capable of carrying out the most varied economic, cultural and social activities within our society. In the face of the need to carry forward important construction projects, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution mobilized themselves and contributed to the reconstruction of the Latin American Stadium, enlarging the Tallapiedra thermal electric power plant, the Centro Havana Hospital and the Dairy Complex in our capital, and also the Matanzas and Cienfuegos stadiums, and many other tasks in building or renovating premises, schools and homes.

Other important tasks carried out by the CDRs in the 15 years since their establishment have been to select almost 3,900,000 Exemplary Parents in Education, to contribute to drawing over 71,000 persons into education as popular teachers, to making 1,181,000 blood donations and over 2.5 million cytological tests for the early diagnosis of some forms of cancer, administering over 18,500,000 vaccinations to our children against polio, recovering over 700 million glass containers and other secondary materials, so saving tens of millions of dollars in foreign exchange, giving massive support in sugar harvesting, agricultural tasks in general, and other important social and economic activities. This year, for example, the CDRs cleared over 12,000 *caballerías* of land to support mechanization in the sugar cane industry.

The CDRs are our people's militant, enthusiastic, versatile and irreplaceable instrument, from which the Revolution will always seek support in carrying out its tasks. Lately, the CDRs have shown a great response to the slogan of cleaning up and embellishing our towns and cities, with the aim of turning Cuba into a garden; they have also made their contribution to

revolutionary endeavors of great importance, such as establishing the organs of people's power in Matanzas Province, an experiment that will serve to extend next year, also with the valuable help of the CDRs, their establishment over the entire country.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are projected into the future, toward socialism and communism, as far forward as the mind can reach. They, too, will soon hold their first congress.

### *Social Organizations*

In the country we also have various social and professional organizations representing the specific interests of their members, and grouping them under a revolutionary work program, to which our Party pays special attention and gives support. Prominent among these organizations are the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, and the Union of Journalists of Cuba.

The first has before it the task of working to advance literature and art in our country, and to encourage works that enrich the consciousness and life of our revolutionary people.

The second has as its main task that of promoting the political and ideological consciousness of our journalists, and their technical and professional advancement, so that their work and that of the mass media should be ever more efficient in spreading, strengthening and furthering the revolutionary ideology and the work of building socialism.

### *Students' Organizations*

Numerous and very important are the tasks entrusted to the mass organizations of the university and intermediate-level students, and to the organization of the pioneers in elementary education.

The University Students' Federation, founded by

Julio Antonio Mella in December 1922, was one of the first revolutionary youth organizations in our country, the heir to a glorious past, in which, among others, the heroic names of Rafael Trejo and José Antonio Echevarría stand out. Today, more than 40,000 of our young people are in its ranks.

The Federation of Intermediate-Level Students is the youngest of our mass organizations. It was founded on December 6, 1970, and has developed swiftly, in step with the rapid advance of our educational revolution, which now involves more than half a million intermediate-level students, among whom it has won solid prestige by its power and dynamism, and at the head of which it has been moving toward a splendid future.

The central task of the University Students' Federation and the Federation of Intermediate-Level Students is to develop the students' attitude to their prime social duty, which is to study in order to raise the standard of graduates so as to meet the requirements of the skilled labor force that our development demands. The whole country, the whole working class, have spared no efforts to provide the rising generation with fine schools and the best facilities for an all-round education. This implies a commitment to which our young people have responded honorably: to achieve a high level of patriotic and internationalist consciousness, fully to put into practice the principle of Marx and Martí of combining study and work, to promote scientific and technical research, to foster sports, culture and recreation and, lastly, to be ready to receive and victoriously carry on the revolutionary banner of our people.

### *The Union of Pioneers of Cuba*

Today, 1,900,000 children are members of the *Unión de Pioneros de Cuba* (UPC) set up on April 4, 1961, and representing 98.7 per cent of the total number of schoolchildren today.

The UPC has now established itself as a children's mass organization; it has strengthened its personality, and has been accomplishing the fundamental objectives of its existence with unquestionable success: that of contributing to the communist education of the younger generation.

The UPC endeavors to stimulate among children an interest in learning, to strengthen their love for their Homeland and for all the peoples of the world, and to contribute to the formation, from a very early age, of work habits and social responsibility, as is done for example through the school gardens, in which more than 150,000 children all over the country are involved.

The UPC works to organize useful and pleasant leisure, to promote sports, and cultural and recreational activities, to develop moral qualities in schoolchildren, such as a sense of honor, modesty, bravery and comradeship, and to instill in them respect for the workers, affection for the Revolutionary Armed Forces and admiration for the heroes and martyrs of the Revolution.

Our Party has given and will increasingly continue to give attention and support to the Union of Pioneers. Our Revolution has fostered and will continue to foster the construction of facilities, such as pioneer camps, circles and palaces, which are such an important element in the work of this organization.

### *Special Emulation in Honor of the First Congress*

The enormous enthusiasm with which our people have welcomed this event has been expressed most forcefully in the Special Emulation in Honor of the First Party Congress.

It has involved the UJC and all our other mass organizations, which set themselves high targets, consisting essentially in fulfilling and overfulfilling

industrial, agricultural and construction plans; in raising the quality of the services; in obtaining higher educational results, both in terms of quantity and quality, at every level of education, consistently applying the principle of linking study and work; and in furthering the involvement of workers, peasants, women, youth, children and people in general, through their respective organizations, in their political, ideological and social tasks, with an ever higher socialist and internationalist consciousness.

These commitments have been fulfilled with honor.

In the last few months, the entire country has become a gigantic forge of creative work, of revolutionary ideas and feelings, in which our people's affection for its vanguard Party has been superbly expressed, and round which they have closely rallied.

The possibilities offered by Socialist Emulation in mustering the masses of the people to fulfill the tasks of the Revolution, a movement which it is our duty to use and increasingly to perfect, have become evident with particular force. Now that we are on the threshold of our First Five-Year Plan, this factor is of particular importance.

## VII. THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES

In this report, we wish to refer especially to two institutions of the Revolution that have played an exceptional role in these heroic years: the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior.

The Rebel Army was the soul of the Revolution. From its victories, the new Homeland emerged free, beautiful, striving and invincible. Its soldiers vindicated the blood generously shed in all the struggles for independence and with their own blood laid the foundations of Cuba's socialist present. They gave the people the weapons wrested from the oppressors in an

epic struggle, and they merged with the people henceforth and forever to become the armed people.

In the days before the integration of all the revolutionary forces, before the emergence of the Party, the Army was the factor of cohesion and unity of the entire people, and guaranteed power for the working people and the existence of the Revolution at a time when reaction and imperialism began dealing blows of menacing force at the early endeavors of the selfless and humble people who were seeking to build a just society.

When the enemy tried to confuse and divide the Rebel Army, it remained united and loyal to the Revolution. It was not deceived by flattery or by the seditious campaigns of the bourgeois press, and the attempt by ambitious and unscrupulous opportunists motivated by selfish and ridiculous ambitions to split its ranks in the final months of the war was crushed in an exemplary manner.

Our soldiers, of working-class and peasant origin, steeled by the hard sacrifices of war, setting an example of modesty, self-denial and loyalty to the revolutionary cause, overcoming without dismay incredible difficulties, even the hardest setbacks, and victorious in unequal struggle with the odds always at least 20 to 1 in favor of the enemy, learning the feelings of solidarity, selflessness, and comradeship in the school of danger and death, of bread shared among all, and the sacrifice of life itself, were psychologically and morally much more prepared than anyone else—worthy and courageous followers that they were of the exploits and example of Che and Camilo—to counter without hesitation the threats of arrogant and powerful imperialism, which tried to keep us subjected, and resolutely to advance toward new revolutionary goals in a world of fraternity and justice.

Our fighters, who have had a great influence on Cuban political developments, did not however generate any militaristic trend in our country, and this

is one of the finest lessons of our Revolution. The weapons that were wielded for ideas and principles howed respectfully before the ideas and principles at the hour of victory. History has few examples of this kind on record.

At the time of the founding of our Party, the vanguard of our working class, the symbol and synthesis of the ideals, aspirations and history of the Cuban Revolution from the glorious days of La Demajagua until now, the follower of the work of Martí's Revolutionary Party and of the courageous founders of the first Marxist-Leninist Party of Cuba, our army, heir to the heroism and patriotic purity of the Liberation Army, and the victorious continuator of its struggles, placed in the hands of the Party the banners of the Revolution, and has from that time on, and forever, become its most loyal, disciplined, modest and staunch follower.

Together with the brave workers', peasants' and students' militia, and with the invaluable support of the brave and exemplary combatants of the Ministry of the Interior, they have successfully rebuffed the enemy's aggressive actions.

In Escambray and in all regions of the country where imperialism organized and supplied numerous armed counter-revolutionary bands, they fought without respite until the last bandit had been captured or killed.

In Girón, they crushed the mercenary invasion in less than 72 hours, inflicting on Yankee imperialism its first defeat in America.

At the time of the October Crisis, they stood up, together with the entire people, without hesitation and with heroic resolve, to the mortal danger of atomic aggression.

Together with voluntary workers, they have contributed to the people's sugar cane harvesting campaigns to rescue the economy during the critical years of blockade and labor shortage.

The men of the army, in keeping with international solidarity, cooperated in organizing the armed forces and militia of other progressive nations, giving unhesitatingly firm support to countries threatened with imperialist aggression. They have often shed their blood generously in other countries of the world that were in need of their modest assistance. Some day the history of the world revolutionary movement will record their heroism, selflessness and self-sacrifice.

In the course of the revolutionary process, the Rebel Army has developed into what are today our mighty Revolutionary Armed Forces, the pride of our people and of our Party, the fruit of the brilliant and outstanding efforts by Comrade Raúl, who has been the head of the Ministry since the early days of the Revolution, and whom it is only fair to mention in this report in acknowledgement of his exemplary and fruitful work.

The Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces was set up on October 16, 1959, and the National Revolutionary Militia ten days later. Thus, tens of thousands of men of the people devoted themselves to defense, and in this way our Armed Forces acquired the same popular and proletarian nature as the Revolution itself.

Since then dozens of combat battalions have been organized; military instruction has been given to thousands of workers, peasants and students; hundreds of guerrilla officers have begun their cultural advancement and increased their military knowledge; new commanders coming from the ranks of the militia have been trained, and great efforts have been made to familiarize the officers and men with a military technology that was highly complex and well beyond their experience and qualifications. This process was carried on in the midst of the intense struggle mentioned earlier. One need merely add that in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary bands, hundreds of combatants lost their lives and the material losses came to almost 1,000 million pesos.

In 1964, as a result of intensive military development the first stage of the organization of our units was completed, and the Compulsory Military Service Law was enacted. Thousands of military cadres were trained, combat and political training was regularly conducted and the building up of the Party and the UJC within the ranks of the Armed Forces begun.

The complex politico-military situation and our firm resolve to defend ourselves had led to an increase in the size of the regular troops of the Revolutionary Armed Forces well above the country's economic and demographic possibilities.

In the face of this situation, and in order to ease the effects of this on the economy, the Armed Forces assigned a considerable number of their men to productive work, in detriment to military training and combat readiness.

In 1970, when the country was already enjoying a climate of relative peace and the efficiency of the Armed Forces had been enhanced considerably, it was decided to gradually run down FAR's regular troops, thus releasing about 150,000 men and 5,000 vehicles from the services in the past five years and transferring them to the economy without affecting the combat readiness of the Armed Forces. By then, several production units had been created and later merged with the Centennial Youth Column, so forming, on August 3, 1973, the Youth Army of Labor.

In a mere two years, the Youth Army of Labor has scored important successes in various sectors of the economy. It has made an outstanding contribution to the sugar harvesting, for which the Youth Army provided more than 20 per cent of the country's cane-cutters, overfulfilling the plans, increasing the productivity per man by 26 per cent from one harvest to the next, and generating a strong movement that allowed them to multiply the *Brigadas Millonarias*, and so to become, among the various forces participating in the last harvesting campaign, the one that

produced the most *Brigadas Millonarias*, a valuable contribution to that sector of the economy.

The Youth Army of Labor has also made an important contribution to construction by building 56 educational facilities worth more than 60,000,000 pesos and working hard in other important fields of the economy and education. It is also doing outstanding work in the reconstruction of the central railroad.

The higher level of the combat training of the regular units, the organization of our people in the reserve army, and the creation of the Youth Army of Labor have made possible an increase in FAR's defensive capability, while at the same time maintaining its participation in economic tasks.

As a result of the adopted measures, from 1970 on FAR started a process further to improve its combat readiness. Proof of this is the training level demonstrated by regular troops and reservists during the exercises held in the Combat Readiness training periods, in which higher grades were obtained in spite of more exacting requirements.

Among the demobilized FAR members, more than 50,000 had been able to join UJC while still in the Armed Forces, notwithstanding the fact that most of them had not worked or studied when they joined up.

Tens of thousands of technicians and skilled personnel who have returned to civilian life were trained in the Armed Forces. Our Armed Forces have been a great school of conscientious, responsible and disciplined cadres for the Revolution.

In the next five-year period, FAR will be supplied with a considerable volume of even more modern weapons, with higher firepower, maneuverability and automation of components. This situation will make even higher requirements and will, above all, make it necessary to continue improving the technico-military qualifications of regular and reserve cadres and specialists.

These tasks will require all-round training of our reserves, which play a decisive role in the Plans for the Defense of the Country. In 1975, the number of reservists trained has been twice that of last year, and in the next five years this figure is to double.

What has been said determines the need to increase the enrollment in reserve units of leaders, skilled workers, technicians and professionals of military age and, especially, of Party and UJC members, for which it is necessary to combat the occasionally exaggerated criteria as to who is indispensable to production. Workers who are truly indispensable should, naturally, not be included in the reserve, since in the event of war they would not have the necessary training and their presence would be absolutely necessary at their work posts to maintain the country's vital activity.

Similarly, it is necessary that in the near future the drafting policy should provide for conscripting into Active Military Service capable, politically, morally and intellectually fit youths, which will require a change in the current notion as to who should be drafted, so correcting a situation in which military service, far from appearing and being presented as a great honor, is used by parents and teachers to intimidate young men and students, who do not study, and by the organisms themselves as a threat and a means to punish undisciplined youths.

Since most youths will in future be involved in intermediate-level studies, and we hope that one day virtually all will be, it is imperative that we then draft those higher-intermediate level graduates who have so far not been drafted, in view of the needs of the economy, while those who are being drafted are mainly those who have a low educational level, who need a longer training period and who often fail to reach the optimal level in the use of modern weapons. When availability and the cultural level allow it, the term of service may be reduced.

This new recruitment policy must be supplemented with increasing the military-patriotic work to promote the education of the population and, especially, the children and young people, while the necessary institutions that this activity calls for should be established.

In the years ahead, the defense of the country will require of State organisms and local organs of people's power decisive participation in organizing all the preliminary work for calling up young men into the ranks and mobilizing the reserve soldiers, the means and equipment of the national economy indispensable for FAR's mobilizational deployment.

Party work within the Armed Forces has enabled Party organizations to reach a high level of maturity and development through systematic study, since their establishment, of Marxist-Leninist theory, so strengthening their inner life and leading to a constant qualitative growth of their ranks.

This has made it possible for democratic centralism to be strictly observed within the framework of the military units, and for criticism and self-criticism to be practised within Party life, without detriment to one-man command, the cornerstone of the military structure, and notwithstanding the logical limitations imposed by military discipline.

Eighty-five per cent of the officers are members of the Party or UJC.

A decisive factor has been the militant assistance of the USSR, Lenin's Homeland, which, ever since the early and most difficult times of our Revolution, has given us, free of charge, modern means of defense for our units valued at several thousand million pesos.

We have also received from the Soviet Union the valuable advice of their military specialists, who have taught us the use of weapons, have conveyed to us knowledge of modern military science and have set us an example by their modesty, self-denial and communist conduct in life.

A prominent part in developing and perfecting the Revolutionary Armed Forces is played by the commanders, officers, political workers and Party organizations, who, throughout these years, have trained the men in modern combat techniques and have consistently mastered the modern art of warfare and have led their troops in driving back enemy armed aggressions.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces have unhesitatingly fulfilled their patriotic and internationalist missions, and are prepared staunchly to defend the interests and gains of socialism.

These tasks have required the officers to maintain a sustained effort, in the course of which they have displayed daily self-sacrifice, in many cases fulfilling their tasks without sufficient resources, making up for the lack of cadres and living up to high requirements with long working hours, which, apart from running to more than 10, 12 and even 14 hours a day, are at times compounded by difficult campaign conditions, separation from their families for long periods, as they modestly fulfill their duty, without ever complaining.

So far it has not been possible fairly and justly to compensate these efforts. It is society's obligation gradually to improve the life and working conditions of our officers and troops, in accordance with the social importance attributed to their work. For this reason, measures have already been taken to increase the cadres' salaries. Military communities are being set up to solve their housing problem and create better living conditions. In the near future, it is necessary to make an even greater effort, which will serve as our working people's deserved recognition of the men who risk their lives and devote themselves completely to the sacred mission of defending the Homeland. Similarly, the system of professional and technical advancement, and of scientific-military work, is to be steadily perfected and the conditions for cultural advancement steadily improved.



These just measures, which cannot be postponed, deserve the fullest understanding on the part of all State and mass institutions, because this is the way in which the country really gives material embodiment to its appreciation of the daily work and sacrifices of our military cadres.

In the past, the military were an enemy of the people, hated by all. Today they are their dearest brothers. In our socialist Homeland, every soldier is a revolutionary, and every revolutionary, a soldier.

So long as imperialism exists, the Party, the State and the people will give the utmost attention to defense. Revolutionary defense will never be neglected. History has all too eloquently taught us that those who forget this principle fail too often to outlive their error.

#### VIII. THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

The Ministry of the Interior, created by the Revolution, has been MINFAR's twin brother in these years of heroic struggle.

The earliest activities of the security organs within the ranks of the Rebel Army began at the time of the triumph of the Revolution. From the outset, they have fought the Revolution's enemies. It was in these early and unequal battles against a powerful enemy—the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States—that our combatants acquired their first experience.

They participated in every revolutionary law, in every action of the people, and in every battle to consolidate the achievements of the Revolution. Throughout these years of struggle they fulfilled the most delicate and difficult tasks in frequently unknown conditions, on the most secret missions. At times, they infiltrated the enemy camp, on other occasions they protected the rearguard in many revolutionary actions, and on still other occasions they acted as vanguard detachments. The combatants of the Ministry of the

Interior, together with those of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and men from the people, have participated in every internationalist mission. With patience, intelligence and revolutionary vigor, they have invariably fulfilled the tasks assigned to them by the Revolution.

The struggles and victories of the people in consolidating their Revolution are indissolubly linked with the organs that make up the Ministry of the Interior. The sacrifice and revolutionary attitude of the men and women who in constant struggle with the enemy have more than once seen their comrades die heroically in defending the Homeland make it possible at this hour to look back on what has been achieved.

By their courageous and intelligent work they have routed internal counter-revolution, defeated counter-revolutionary organizations, groups and bands, carried out successful actions against infiltrations by CIA agents, and broken up innumerable schemes for the physical annihilation of the leaders of the Revolution.

Counter-revolutionary actions began in 1959, and multiplied as the Revolution became ever more radical. From the very beginning, the elements who were ousted from power and the national bourgeoisie formed incipient secret counter-revolutionary organizations; fugitives from revolutionary justice began to organize bands in the mountain areas, and counter-revolutionary elements carried out their first infiltrations from US territory, where they also organized—with the help of internal counter-revolution—the earliest attempts to assassinate the leaders of the Revolution.

The counter-revolutionary organizations were joined by individuals ranging from clerical circles to notorious Batista followers, war criminals, corrupt politicians, and from the outset they had vast financial resources at their disposal. Their actions included propaganda, sabotage, terrorism, subversive activities,

attempts at murder. At the first stage, their relationship with the CIA was covert, their actions appeared to be independent while the Yankee agency supplied them with equipment and material, and trained their members.

As the revolutionary process was radicalized, affecting, as it did, the economic interests of the bourgeois, it immediately brought about a formalization of imperialist support for subversion. In 1960, an operations center was set up in Miami, which for years directed and coordinated the counter-revolutionary activities of Cuban renegades and served as a link with Cuba-based outfits. This center had two operations groups: one for infiltration, whose task it was to create counter-revolutionary networks, train CIA agents, and supply equipment, secret and explosive materials; the other group was set up for special missions. In 1960 and 1961 alone, 34 infiltration operations were carried out. In outright piratical operations, the enemy even used up to 13 ships, relying for this purpose on the most aggressive elements among the counter-revolutionary emigrés they had recruited and trained.

On February 2, 1959, the first small pirate plane reached the country, flown by a US citizen with the intention of carrying out murder attempts. Similar raids followed one after another to strafe the city of Havana, to set sugar cane plantations on fire, and to bomb sugar mills. The first weapons that the Revolution managed to buy to defend itself from its enemies were sabotaged at the port of destination and blown up on board the vessel *La Coubre*, taking the lives of dozens of workers, Rebel Army soldiers and revolutionary policemen.

The involvement of the United States in the counter-revolutionary activities ceased to be covert.

At the time of the mercenary invasion of Girón, the counter-revolutionary organizations were unable to play the part of fifth column, which imperialism had

assigned to them. The action of the security organs, supported by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the people, rendered most of them harmless.

After the defeat at Playa Girón, imperialism tried to step up the activity of counter-revolutionary bands.

On June 6, 1961, the Ministry of the Interior was set up.

In 1962, the number of counter-revolutionary bands in Escambray alone went up from 42 in March to 79 in September. These armed groups were organized by imperialism in all the provinces to fight against the Revolution. The bands set sugar cane fields on fire, sabotaged public services, staged assassinations and raids in villages and rural areas.

But the Revolution was not paralyzed; the army took vigorous counteraction, and the workers' and peasants' militia pursued the bands without let-up, thus beginning their gradual annihilation. Counter-revolutionary elements and CIA agents who had infiltrated and joined counter-revolutionary networks were captured, and many of them were punished with the utmost severity by the Revolutionary Courts.

As early as 1963, many counter-revolutionary organizations became less belligerent. At the same time, the bands were broken up. The revolutionary pursuit prevented them from surviving, and they were losing their contacts with the CIA, since its agents had been captured or knocked out. One by one, the groups were being located, surrounded and liquidated. The counter-revolutionary ringleaders anxiously sought to leave the country. Their demoralization was complete, and between 1964 and 1965 the last few bandits were captured.

The role played by the combatants of the Ministry of the Interior in the defeat of the armed bands was decisive. In peril of their lives, they organized the work of infiltration to obtain information and locate and surround the bands, something that was absolutely

indispensable, because these bands were constantly on the move and never joined battle except when trying to escape.

By 1965, with the perfection of the vigilance of the security organs, the capture of infiltrated elements, and the exemplary punishment meted out to the enemies of the Revolution there was a decline in the number of infiltrations. The CIA ordered its most valuable elements in the various counter-revolutionary organizations to act independently as agents in a more sophisticated structure. By 1969, the operations center at Miami was deactivated, and since then activities were directed by the central offices.

The enemy was forced to give up direct forms of activity, and a new method was shortly introduced, and with it a struggle has begun that will be much longer, with various forms of infiltration by means of underground agents, economic sabotage, attempts at ideological infiltration and confusion, and whatever other forms they may use in their fight against the Revolution.

The frontier-guards, ever-watchful sentinels of the Homeland, defend our country's coasts day and night in selfless and constant vigilance.

One of the main objectives of the operations planned by the CIA was the murder of revolutionary leaders.

In the days prior to our Congress, a copy of a report published by a US Senate sub-committee investigating the plans of the CIA to assassinate foreign leaders, most of whom were killed, reached Cuba. The report runs to hundreds of pages and a considerable part of it is devoted to the CIA's activities and plans to assassinate the leaders of the Cuban Revolution.

It is hard to believe the hair-raising facts contained in this report.

In it one will find the following passage:

"We have found concrete evidence of at least eight plots involving the CIA to assassinate Fidel Castro

from 1960 to 1965. Although some of the assassination plots did not advance beyond the stage of planning and preparation, one plot, involving the participation of underworld figures, twice progressed to the point of sending poison pills to Cuba and dispatching teams to commit the act. Another plot involved furnishing weapons and other assassination devices to a Cuban dissident. The devices for the proposed assassination involved a range of weapons from long-range rifle to poison pills, poisoned ball-point pens, powders of deadly bacteria, and other devices that demand a great effort of imagination."

The report goes on:

"From March through August 1960, during the last year of the Eisenhower Administration, the CIA considered plans to undermine Castro's charismatic appeal by sabotaging his speeches. According to the 1967 Report of the CIA's Inspector General, an official in the Technical Services Division (TSD) recalled discussing a scheme to spray Castro's broadcasting studio with a chemical which produced effects similar to LSD, but the scheme was rejected because the chemical was unreliable. During this period, TSD impregnated a box of cigars with a chemical which produced temporary disorientation, hoping to induce Castro to smoke one of the cigars before delivering a speech. The Inspector General also reported a plan to destroy Castro's image as El Barbudo by dusting his shoes with thallium salts, a strong depilatory that would cause his beard to fall out. The depilatory was to be administered during a trip outside Cuba. TSD procured the chemical and tested it on animals, but apparently abandoned the scheme because Castro cancelled his trip."

On subsequent pages, the following will be found

*"Poison cigars*

"A notation in the records of the Operations Division, CIA's Office of Medical Services, indicates that on August 16, 1960, an official was given a box of

Castro's favorite cigars with instructions to treat them with lethal poison. The cigars were contaminated with a botulinum toxin so potent that a person would die after putting one in his mouth. The official reported that the cigars were ready on October 7, 1960; TSD notes indicate that they were delivered to an unidentified person on February 13, 1961."

*"Poison is prepared and delivered to Cuba*

"The Inspector General's Report described conversations among Bissell, Edwards, and the Chief of the Technical Services Division (TSD), concerning the most effective method of poisoning Castro. There is some evidence that Giancana or Rosselli originated the idea of depositing a poison pill in Castro's drink to give the agent a chance to escape....

"Edwards rejected the first batch of pills prepared by TSD because they would not dissolve in water. A second batch, containing botulinum toxin, did the job expected of them when tested on monkeys. The Support Chief received the pills from TSD, probably in February 1961, with assurances that they were lethal, and then gave them to Rosselli.

"The record clearly established that the pills were given to a Cuban for delivery to the island some time prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion in mid-April 1961....

"The Support Chief recalled that Colonel J. C. King, head of the Western Hemisphere Division, gave him \$ 50,000 in Bissell's Office to pay the Cuban if he successfully assassinated Castro....

"Joseph Shimon, a friend of Rosselli and Giancana, testified that he had accompanied Maheu to Miami, ... he, Giancana, Rosselli and Maheu shared a suite in the Fountainsbleau Hotel. During a conversation, Maheu stated that he had a contract to assassinate Castro, and had been provided with a liquid by the CIA to accomplish the task. Shimon testified that Maheu had said the liquid was to be put in Castro's food, that Castro would become ill and die after two

or three days, and that an autopsy would not reveal what had killed him....

"Shimon testified that a few days later, he received a phone call from Maheu, who said: '... Did you see the paper? Castro's ill. He's going to be sick two or three days. Wow, we got him.'"

*"The operation is reactivated*

"In early April 1962, Harvey, who testified that he was acting on explicit orders from Helms, requested Edwards to put him in touch with Rosselli....

"Harvey, the Support Chief and Rosselli met for a second time in New York on April 8-9, 1962. A notation made during this time in the files of the Technical Services Division indicates that four poison pills were given to the Support Chief on April 18, 1962. The pills were passed to Harvey, who arrived in Miami on April 21, and found Rosselli already in touch with the same Cuban who had been involved in the pre-Bay of Pigs pill passage. He gave the pills to Rosselli, explaining that these would work anywhere and at any time with anything. Rosselli testified that he told Harvey that the Cubans intended to use the pills to assassinate Che Guevara as well as Fidel and Raúl Castro. According to Rosselli's testimony, Harvey approved of the targets, stating everything is all right, what they want to do.

"The Cuban requested arms and equipment as a quid pro quo for carrying out the assassination operation....

"Rosselli kept Harvey informed of the operation's progress. Sometime in May 1962, he reported that the pills and guns had arrived in Cuba."

*"Plans in early 1963*

"Two plans to assassinate Castro were explored by Task Force W, the CIA section then concerned with covert Cuban operations, in early 1963. Desmond Fitzgerald (now deceased), Chief of the Task Force, asked his assistant to determine whether an exotic seashell, rigged to explode, could be depos-

ited in an area where Castro commonly went skin diving....

"A second plan involved having James Donovan (who was negotiating with Castro for the release of prisoners taken during the Bay of Pigs operation) present Castro with a contaminated diving suit....

"The Technical Services Division bought a diving suit, dusted the inside with a fungus that would produce a chronic skin disease (Madura foot), and contaminated the breathing apparatus with a tubercule bacillus."

*"The poison pen device"*

"Another device offered to AM/LASH was a ball-point pen rigged with a hypodermic needle. The needle was designed to be so fine that the victim would not notice its insertion.

"According to the Inspector General's Report, when Case Officer 2 was interviewed in 1967, he stated that AM/LASH had requested the Agency to 'devise some technical means of doing the job that would not automatically cause him to lose his own life in the try'....

"Fitzgerald's assistant told the Committee that the pen was intended to show 'bona fides' and 'the orders were to do something to get rid of Castro (...) and we thought this other method might work whereas a rifle wouldn't'.

"Helms confirmed that the pen was manufactured 'to take care of a request from him that he has some device for getting rid of Castro, for killing him, murdering him, whatever the case may be'....

"A CIA document dated January 3, 1965, states that B-1, in a lengthy interview with a case officer, said that he and AM/LASH had reached firm agreement on the following points:

"1. B-1 is to provide AM/LASH with a silencer for the FAL; if this is impossible, B-1 is to cache in a designated location a rifle with a scope and silencer plus several bombs, concealed either in a suitcase, a

lamp or some other concealment device which he would be able to carry, and place next to Fidel Castro...."

You see for how many years the CIA was engaged in these criminal plans.

These few paragraphs we have read from the Senate Committee Report reflect the gravity of the acts against which the State Security organisms had to fight in those years. The most refined achievements of science and technology were used for their diabolical purposes.

If Cuba had accused the CIA of such actions, many sceptical people in the world would have thought that it was fantasy inspired by hatred for the Yankee imperialists. These activities are unprecedented in the history of any modern State, illustrate the cynical, rotten and vicious nature of imperialism, and clearly show that it will go to great lengths to do the wildest, most irresponsible and incredible things. Formerly they wanted annexation; now they want to poison us.

We consider the Senate Committee's act of making public the Report—in spite of opposition from the President of the United States—as positive, even though many facts were omitted as a result of the pressure brought to bear by the CIA and the White House, because such procedures amount to barbarous acts, and their denunciation and condemnation helps to prevent the introduction of such barbarous practices into international relations.

Air piracy was another of the CIA's greatly irresponsible acts perpetrated against Cuba in the first few years, later to become a worldwide problem. The same Cuban counter-revolutionary elements trained by the CIA were afterwards the protagonists in the Watergate episode, and those whom the CIA taught to handle explosives are the ones who today are throwing bombs in Miami and other cities in the United States.

The fact that, despite the dozens of attempts by the CIA on the lives of Cuba's revolutionary leaders and

by the countless bands that were at its service, not a single one of the leaders of the Revolution has been assassinated in these 17 years, shows the efficiency of the Ministry of the Interior's officers in the struggle against the enemy. They have saved the lives of all of us.

The Ministry of the Interior has carried and is carrying out other important tasks while being in direct confrontation with the enemy.

The National Revolutionary Police was organized in 1959, and throughout all these years it has helped to eradicate the criminal atmosphere, thus almost totally eliminating the common pre-Revolution practices of drug addiction, prostitution and gambling. Work has been done to protect socialist property against embezzlement, and with the people's joint action the overall figure for criminal offences has dropped, although there are still some manifestations, such as theft and stealing, which we must combat with resolve.

An exceptional effort has been made in the prevention of traffic accidents, which have cost the country so many lives.

In the last twelve years, 303,055 accidents have occurred, with a total of 9,068 dead and 206,402 injured, and material losses running to over 70 million pesos. Since 1968, the annual accident average has gone down, but the number of deaths has gone up to 870. Breaches of the Traffic Code, which is essentially a problem of low social consciousness, have kept the level of accidents high in spite of the enactment of legal and administrative rules, and of accident prevention campaigns. This constant struggle to protect the life of citizens calls for an effort on everyone's part.

The Revolution inherited a brutal and ruthless prison system which twisted men and bred criminals. A new penal regime was established to eliminate these conditions, and also to establish a re-education system. Its activities include an effort to raise cultural and

technical standards, and to involve prisoners in productive activities. Seventy per cent of those convicted are involved in industrial, agricultural or construction-type productive activities, under general or strict regimes, for which they receive the corresponding salary. Upon their release, they are placed in work centers, according to the knowledge and experience they have acquired. Their behavior at the rehabilitation stage may lead to a reduction of the sanction period and so speeds their return to society. New facilities have been built in accordance with these plans, and 15 old prisons have been deactivated. The penal system will continue to be improved, for which purpose the Research, Evaluation and Penal Orientation Center has been set up.

In fire-fighting, the means for the extinction and prevention of fire have been modernized and the skill standards of the personnel in this service have been raised, involving the mastery of the most modern techniques. Protection standards have been established and a propaganda campaign has been carried on to prevent such accidents, including the people's participation through voluntary brigades at work centers.

Respect for the people is the rule of behavior by which our police is guided.

In the same way, one ethical principle, established since the time of Sierra Maestra, has always characterized the State Security organisms: never to use physical violence against a prisoner to extract information. This principle has without any hesitation and without a single exception been applied in these 17 years. This has not only raised our stature as revolutionaries and as men, but it has also contributed to developing our cadres' capacity and perfecting their methods of combatting the enemy, to winning the battle of prevention, information about and control of enemy activities. What has morally strengthened us, has intellectually developed us.

The Ministry of the Interior has infiltrated virtually every counter-revolutionary outfit, and in many its men

have held some of the highest posts in the leadership.

The exemplary behavior of the members of the Ministry of the Interior and their spirit of self-sacrifice in the performance of their duty have won for them our people's recognition and love. What the enemy will never understand is that it is this close and indissoluble unity of the people and these men that makes our forces superior and our defenses impenetrable.

In the years ahead, work will become ever more technicalized and efficient. Cadres, coming from the best of our young, have been steadily raising their training levels. The Ministry of the Interior will be equal to the functions that a constantly developing society expects of it. Nor will the devoted guardians of the country's internal security ever lower their guard.

#### IX. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Young Communist League (UJC) is the organization of vanguard youth, and a militant source and reserve of our Party.

It has the responsibility of molding future Party members and of working with all the young, both directly and through the mass organizations of the young, and also with the children, through the Union of Pioneers of Cuba (UPC), to contribute to the education of the rising generations as conscious builders of socialism.

The young people of Cuba participated in the revolutionary struggles carried on by the generations of 1868 and 1895, of the 1920s and the 1930s, and more recently, by the generation of the Centennial, which rallied the endeavors of many young people in their noble urge to win final independence for the Homeland. Most of those who attacked Moncada were young.

Like the rest of the people, the great mass of working class, peasant and student youth embraced the

ideals of the Revolution and actively participated in the social struggle at the new stage in building the future.

UJC was set up on April 4, 1962, and had its most immediate antecedent in the historic date of October 21, 1960, when the various youth organizations merged into the Association of Young Rebels.

It is the product of the indissoluble union of the young who fought against the tyranny from within the ranks of the revolutionary organizations, and above all, of the innumerable battles waged for the defense and the economic and social consolidation and development of the Revolution, in which our young people have held a vanguard position in these past 17 years.

Since the first moments of the triumph of the Revolution, our young people have been in the struggle to strengthen the revolutionary power, filling the ranks of the militia, taking part in all the alerts and campaigns, joining with disciplined action in the subsequent calls to military service, and mastering modern and complex weapons of defense.

Relevant tasks have been fulfilled by our young people in this period: the Literacy Campaign, with the involvement of more than 100,000 young men and women; the struggle against the counter-revolutionary groups, aggressive acts and threats of imperialism; the harvest, dairy and forest plans campaigns; the effort in developing Isla de Pinos; the creation of task forces, like the Agricultural Youth Column and the Construction Youth Column, predecessors of the vigorous Centennial Youth Column, which together with Camilo and Che followers, and FAR work units, have led to the creation of the institution of the Youth Army of Labor; the development of the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical Detachment, which has more than 12,000 10th-grade young people, and many other responsibilities that the Revolution has entrusted to the young.



An important phase in UJC work has been attention to student activities, such as picking coffee campaigns and other voluntary endeavors, whose development has led to the present system of combining study and work. Apart from the intermediate-level schools located in agricultural and industrial zones, through the development of the Schools in the Countryside Plan, more than 200,000 young students from urban schools of that level are mustered annually for seven weeks of agricultural activities.

As an essential part of the young generations' education, work is being done to develop their highest patriotic and internationalist feelings.

Our youth are being fostered in a spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive struggles of the youth and the peoples of the whole world, and of fraternal friendship for the socialist countries.

In the past few years, UJC has advanced in its work, especially after its Second Congress in April 1972.

Achievements have been made in advancing the educational revolution, which was defined at that Congress as the strategic and decisive objective of the organization; in the links with the Union of Pioneers, on the one hand, and with the Party on the other, with the aim of establishing an uninterrupted stream in the development of our communist young; in its link with masses of the young and in the reinforcement of its role in relations with the student organizations, the UPC and other mass youth structures; and in the strengthening of the methods of direction, discipline and internal life in general.

One landmark is that since 1972 18,589 members of UJC have joined the Party, and that in 1975 almost 40 per cent of the new Party members have come from the ranks of the Young Communist League.

Even though these are inspiring results, the work of UJC in the preparation of its members as future

members of the Party must still be intensified in every sense, since there are many members of the youth organization who reach the established age for joining the Party, but cannot be admitted then or at all, and have to be deactivated, because they still lack the requisites for joining the Party.

In the past few years, UJC has doubled its membership, which now stands at 312,000, 30 per cent of whom are girls. UJC must take vanguard attitude in the struggle for the complete equality of women; fulfill the key tasks of our economy entrusted to them, among which stand out the construction of a new cement factory in Mariel and of one in Cienfuegos, the Havana-Santiago Railroad, the development of Northern Oriente, the fertilizer plant at Nuevitas and others; emphasize its growth within the ranks of young workers and become even more infused with the proletarian spirit, without this affecting the admission of students; broaden vigorously the movement of the Youth Technical Brigades, which now number 4,258 and have 52,126 members, and develop, by every means, our youth's consciousness of being the vanguard in mastering and driving forward the scientific-technical revolution. Moreover, UJC is called upon to make the most dynamic and enthusiastic effort to enable our Homeland to fulfill with dignity the high honor and responsibility assigned to us as host of the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in 1978.

Our youth, once living in a world of illiteracy and unemployment and without any prospects for the future, has today extraordinary possibilities in our Homeland. Since early childhood, our young people are molded for the future. They have every opportunity at their disposal. Everyone can turn himself into what his capabilities, persistence, and dedication to study and work allow him to become. There are no more exploiting classes or privileges for anyone. Merit is the only measure of every human being. The world

can be renewed with the young people's inexhaustible energy. They are molded with a high political consciousness; they will be heir to the present revolutionary generation. They will have to lead and guide the Homeland of the future. We regard our youth with ahiding optimism, and see with pride the wonderful work of the Revolution reflected in them, and with confidence that they will be better than we are.

#### X. THE PARTY

The Party is the synthesis of everything. Within it, the visions of all the revolutionaries in our history are synthesized; within it, the ideas, principles and strength of the Revolution assume concrete form; within it our individualism disappears and we learn to think in terms of the collective; it is our educator, our teacher, our leader and our vigilant conscience, when we ourselves are incapable of detecting our errors, our defects and our limitations; within it we are closely knit together, and between us we shape every one of us into a Spartan soldier of the fairest of the causes, all of us together forming an invincible giant; within it the ideas, the experiences, the behests of the martyrs, the continuity of the work, the interests of the people, the future of the Homeland, and the indestructible ties with the proletarian builders of the new world all over the world are guaranteed.

The Party is today the soul of the Cuban Revolution.

The principles of selection to become a member of the Party are cardinal elements in the activity of every Marxist-Leninist organization. This principle has a singular meaning in Cuba, because it stems from the concrete historical conditions within which the Cuban people have carried on their revolutionary struggle. Cuba is building socialism just a few steps away from the most aggressive and criminal imperialist country,

whose government has not ceased attacking and threatening our Homeland, with the use of all its means.

In these circumstances, it is logical for our Revolution to place special emphasis on the exemplary behavior, moral and political quality, authority and prestige with the masses, of the men and women making up its leading vanguard.

Our method of selection for joining the Party, which includes democratic consultations with the mass of all workers regarding the admission of new members, at their work center, is in full accord with the Leninist criterion of the organization and rules governing the life of the Party. It is known that Lenin pointed out as the principles for joining the Party, the selection on an individual basis of new members by the organizations concerned, their incorporation in an organization on a voluntary basis, and acceptance of the Party's Statutes and Program. But that is not all. Lenin vigorously urged the need for the political vanguard of the workers and the peasants to establish close ties with the broadest masses. Lenin believed that a party could not call itself a "revolutionary party of the proletariat" until it knew how to weld together in a single and indissoluble whole the leaders, the working class and the masses.

Both these Leninist ideas are included in the method for the selection of members adopted by our Communist Party of Cuba.

The process of the Party's build-up and growth implies a constant dialogue with the masses. The Party reserves the right of selecting its members, while lending an ear to the feelings and opinions of the masses.

In the last few years, we have worked with the purpose of achieving the utmost uniformity in matters pertaining to structure and organization and, above all, absolute unity of ideas on the Party's working method and inner life.

The functions of the Party and the State have been very clearly defined.

The Party apparatus has been strengthened, and its direction methods have been perfected to enable it adequately to play its role in society.

The adoption of the new Party structure, the enlargement of the Secretariat, and the creation of Departments to assist the executive and direction organisms have contributed substantially to the work aimed at reaching these objectives.

Always guaranteeing that quality should be the guiding principle of the process, our Party has kept up a steady pace of growth of its ranks in the thirteen years since the beginning of the nuclei-formation process started in 1962.

In 1965, the number of members and candidates was under 50,000, in 1970 a little over 100,000 and at the end of 1974 we already had 186,995 members and candidates.

This year, 1975, despite the enormous efforts made to prepare the Congress, the Party's growth work has not stopped, and 17,420 new members and candidates have joined our ranks.

In the first six months alone, over 300,000 workers participated in the assemblies convened by the nuclei as part of the Party's construction and growth work.

Thus, on September 30 of this year, the Party had a total of 202,807 members and candidates. Over 52 per cent of these belong to the nuclei formed at agricultural, industrial and construction work centers; 7.5 and 3 per cent, respectively, work in education and in public health, which are of such great importance for attaining the objectives of the Revolution, and over 40 per cent work in political and administrative posts.

We believe it to be necessary to show concern for the composition of the Party ranks from the standpoint of its members' place of work.

We all know that a majority of the comrades working on the tasks of political direction or in administrative functions come from the working class, and as a result of revolutionary transformations were assigned to assume responsibilities at farms, factories and workshops, or to act as directors and officials of the higher-level administration, or as Party and mass organization cadres.

The theses that have been discussed and adopted by our entire Party show that this is so, and bring it out as a positive fact which guarantees the achievement of the objectives of our working class, that a great number of our leading political and administrative functionaries are of working-class origin, and that they have the merits and meet the conditions for being members of the Party.

On many occasions, concern has been expressed over the fact that because the Party consists of workers with the highest prestige among the masses, with great authority and most outstanding achievements in labor, they are always the first to be chosen to hold any administrative direction post.

Indeed, our Party began to structure itself at the work centers, and there it has always carried out its fundamental activities relating to growth.

But it is obvious that, as a result of this constant outflow, the relatively low cultural level of our masses, and a certain lack of development, the Party is not numerically strong enough in important sectors like the sugar industry and other fundamental industries, the farms and agricultural stations, construction, transportation and education.

The Party must grow without detriment to the permanent effort to assure the quality of its ranks, preferably in these sectors and also, and above all, among the workers directly engaged in industrial and agricultural production, construction and the services, to be able to augment the Party's ranks with the necessary and active presence of thousands of Communists,

revolutionaries who have been tested on many occasions in the struggle, and who hold leading State or political posts, with a sufficiently large number of workers whose active presence within the fundamental working-class centers is guaranteed.

In this task, a great responsibility falls on the Party's nuclei in fulfilling the aims of improving the social composition of the Party.

Similarly, the Party's female membership, which still falls short of 15 per cent, is not in accordance with the part Cuban women have played in revolutionary process, or with their participation in productive activities, in teaching and in the services.

The preparation of the Congress has strengthened the Party's ties with the masses. There are two fundamental aspects which have been outstanding in this preliminary period: the preparation and elaboration of the theses and the balance-sheet of the Party's work at all its levels, together with the election or endorsement of the new leaders.

In the elections held from the ground level up, over 6,000 comrades who were not among the leading collectives were elected to leading committees at various levels. The number of women in the leadership of our organisms was quadrupled; and that of Party members linked with production, teaching or the services, tripled.

In the elections held in the nuclei, 35 per cent of the comrades who had leadership responsibilities were replaced. At present, 17 per cent of these leaders are women, which is a figure similar to the female membership of the Party, or which is even somewhat higher, and with 51 per cent performing functions directly connected with production, teaching or the services.

This improved composition of the nuclei leadership paves the way for cadre formation and selection which is to follow a promotional process from the ground up, assessing the capabilities and characteristics of each comrade, his consciousness and responsibility

in his work, and his capacity for organization and leadership.

The work of the cadres is of the utmost importance for all Party work.

The success of their work largely depends on the adequate composition of the leadership collectives, on their capability to approach and carry out the tasks assigned to them in the Party structure.

As a result of the assemblies held, the composition of the Committees at the intermediate leadership levels—municipality, region and province—is such that the ratio of women in the Provincial Committees has gone up to 13 per cent, and at the regional and municipal level, it is still higher.

The number of Party members engaged in leadership tasks in the Provincial Committees and working directly in production, teaching and service units has also increased to 13 per cent, and it is even higher at other levels, amounting to 29 per cent in the Municipal Committees.

More than one-half of the comrades who were elected members of Municipal, Regional or Provincial Committees did not formerly belong to such organisms.

This has been possible because the assemblies renewed some of the membership of the Committees, and also because, in some cases, the membership increased when the election method was modified, thus leading to the election of all the candidates who obtained more than one-half the valid votes.

We did not want this Congress to be a meeting of leaders. We do not conceive it as a Congress of Party and State leaders, and this is reflected in the composition of the delegates. It was conceived as an event in which the composition of delegates would reflect the Party's composition, and in which the majority of the participants were Party members not in charge of the Party and the State leadership. Thirty per cent of the delegates are political leaders, 16 per cent administrative cadres, 19 per cent are members in the

defense and security of the country, and 35 per cent are engaged in production, teaching and service activities. Approximately 15 per cent of the total are women.

The fundamental task of raising the political, ideological and cultural levels of the Party's cadres and members has lately assumed a regular, uniform and systematic character, even though there are still difficulties that must be solved in the coming working period.

An ever higher awareness of the need to study is evident today in the whole Party, which, with these ideas and correct orientation and control, exerts a positive influence on the spirit of advancement of UJC members and cadres, those of the mass organizations, and of the officials of the State apparatus. As they see Party leaders study, the others are encouraged to do likewise.

The Party now has 37 schools throughout the country, attended by 6,144 students. Among them is the Nico López National School, which was founded just 15 years ago, and which has five courses, with 582 students.

National and provincial schools of the Young Communist League, CTC, FMC, CDR and ANAP function similarly, with a total of 1,773 students.

Numerous Party cadres and functionaries take advancement courses and train as teachers for our Party schools in the USSR, GDR and Bulgaria.

The Party's political study circles have perfected their organization, control and evaluation system.

Since last October, 27 Politico-Ideological Advancement Centers started functioning in various parts of the country and under the Central Committee leadership.

The evaluation of the development of this experience will make it possible to project the gradual extension of this type of center, whose principal objective is theoretical and political training of Party

members and candidates, in a regular and systematic manner. We hope that by 1980 the great majority of Party members will be taking advancement courses on the three levels developed in this Party education institution: basic, intermediate and high.

In the years ahead, we must work to transform schools of the Party, UJC and mass organizations and the Politico-Ideological Advancement Centers, into model institutions of Marxist-Leninist education.

We shall have to make a great effort in the training of teachers, in linking teaching with the reality of socialist construction in our country, in improving the material basis of our facilities, in including the study of the First Congress documents in all politico-ideological advancement systems, and in our Party's corresponding task concerning the gradual introduction of Marxist-Leninist teaching and political education in general at the secondary, intermediate and university teaching centers of our Ministry of Education. The Marxist-Leninist advancement activity of teachers, professors, scientists, journalists and art and culture workers falls in this same context.

We must continue giving special attention to the cultural advancement of Party members and cadres.

As for the cadres, their cultural level has improved in recent years, but the majority still have a sixth- and seventh-grade level, and we have set ourselves the priority task of inducing them to achieve the intermediate-higher level, so as later on to continue their cultural, technical and scientific training, in keeping with the requirements of their work.

To achieve the objective of reaching an intermediate-higher education, the cadres have the System of Guided Courses of the Party that ensures systematic on-the-job study.

Those who are to get a university education or those who, having a university degree, must continue their studies, will also continue to train and prepare

themselves through the opportunities offered by the Ministry of Education and the country's universities.

Although it has also been raised, the cultural level of Party members and candidates is still fairly low. According to the figures for the second quarter of this year, 20 per cent of the Party members have not yet attained a sixth-grade education, 42 per cent have only a sixth-grade education, 25 per cent have a secondary level in adult education, 9 per cent an intermediate-higher education, and only 4 per cent have a university education.

It is easy to understand the strong limitation working against that 20 per cent of the comrades with a level below the sixth grade or against the 42 per cent who have not gone beyond that level, no matter how strong their will and exemplary activity might be, in analyzing and interpreting the documents of the Party, in mastering theoretical problems, understanding, applying and spreading the economic policy of the Revolution, acquiring the necessary knowledge of the lines of our domestic and foreign policy and even in advancing in the techniques of their own work.

Of course, that does not mean that the rest have no duty to study. No Communist is exempt from the duty to study and constantly to advance by every means at his disposal.

It is necessary to put in at every level of the organization the most persistent and exacting effort so as to fulfill the objectives we have set ourselves in the field of cultural advancement, especially that of having the majority of the Party members reach a minimum eighth-grade level by 1980. We really think that we have to be strict in this sense and the only exceptions to this revolutionary commitment should be the comrades who cannot study because of their advanced age, ill health or other truly valid reasons.

As a very important part of the preparatory process of our Congress, each thesis was submitted to analysis by our Party members and, in many cases, by revolu-

tionary workers and members of the mass organizations and UJC.

Never before have our people had a similar experience on such a scale. Through those discussions, the content of our theses has helped to make it easier for our people to understand the Party's stand on the fundamental economic, political and social questions, and the prospects for developing the construction of socialism. The content of the theses was perfected at 685,241 meetings with 19 million participants.

The Party Statutes and the Programmatic Platform were among the documents discussed in the nuclei and committees by all our members and cadres as part of the process of preparation for the Congress.

The Statutes are the fundamental law of the Party's inner life.

The draft which has been discussed contains some important modifications in regard to the present Statutes, in order to adapt, on the one hand, its content to the transformations of the new Politico-Administrative Division and, on the other, to enhance the role of the Party's ground organizations in the whole of political activity, by establishing forms of groupings to facilitate its tasks, especially at the big production centers with large Party memberships.

With full clarity and strength, our Statutes establish democratic centralism as the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party, characterized by the elective nature of all the leading organisms, their obligation to report to those who have elected them and to the higher organisms, to work according to Party discipline which establishes the subordination of the minority to the majority, and submission to the decisions taken by higher organisms.

In order to guarantee the application of the principles of democratic centralism, it is necessary that both in our nuclei and our committees the conditions for the exercise of freedom of discussion, of criticism and self-

criticism should be present, and that the decisions should actually result from collective analysis and agreement.

The content of these discussions and analysis must be fundamentally determined by the aim of making Party work more effective within the working people's collectives, to enable the Party to influence the masses more efficiently, to guide them toward the achievement of the objectives and the tasks set forth by the Revolution in the various spheres of economic, political or social activity.

The Party's Programmatic Platform, which has been massively debated by our Party members and by all the people, is the most important document among those to be submitted for the consideration of this First Congress.

As in the past, during the difficult days of the struggle against the tyranny, imprisonment, exile, the *Granma* expedition, the Sierra, the underground struggle and in the early years of the victorious Revolution, we held high the Moncada Program, now already fulfilled, our Party and our Revolution must now deem this Platform as banner in struggle and guide for future action, as the synthesis of the cardinal points of the historical process of the Revolution, its nature and its work. It sets out the fundamental tasks and the political line to be implemented from now on, in order to attain the main and immediate programmatic objective set before our people: to continue the construction of socialism until the fundamental part of this task has been completed and the first stage of communist society reached.

The Programmatic Platform is of exceptional political and theoretical value. From now on, it should set the guidelines for the entire work of the Party and the Revolution, on which will be based all the principles and postulates to be followed in the various activities of our people, in the domestic and international sphere, to which the objectives and tasks should be

geared, and the specific plans of the country's diverse institutions adapted. It should become the instrument of the Party's work among the masses and of the education of each of Party members and candidates.

The thoroughly framed perspectives and tasks outlined in the Platform can only be translated into reality through the united and conscientious action of the Party and the people. This will demand several five-year periods of hard, creative work in every field of economic, political, cultural and social endeavor.

The document that has been prepared is, in our opinion, satisfactory. It contains the essential elements of a Program that, after being further perfected and enriched with the experience of the next five years, should be put before the Second Congress—to be held in 1980—for the formulation of the final version of the Program of the Communist Party of Cuba, in its task of conducting the process of socialist construction in our country.

The Statutes and Programmatic Platform create a solid basis for the organic cohesion, discipline and single-minded action that should characterize the revolutionary Party of the working class.

But we should bear in mind that it is ideological unity, the community of principles and ideals that is the supreme guarantee of exemplary unity which today fraternally groups all the Communists and links the Party indissolubly with the masses of people.

Marxist-Leninist ideology, the invincible science of Revolution and communism, is one of the most abiding historic achievements of our people in their titanic, century-long battle.

Where else would our people have obtained their tremendous strength, heroism and single-mindedness to win or die that has turned them into a colossus capable of blasting every imperialist aggression and subversion, but from their understanding of the just ideas of the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat?



What other element but the invulnerable revolutionary conscience that Marxism-Leninism has given our people, has enabled us to rebuff all of imperialism's attempts ideologically to infiltrate the Cuban Revolution?

More than that, what is it but the conviction and extraordinary strength that the knowledge of the historical laws has given us, the certainty that the poor people's just cause would inexorably forge ahead, that lifted up our spirit before each of the reverses suffered in the struggle, from the bitter days that followed Moncada, and enabled us to overcome adversity and carry on the revolutionary battle?

The most moving examples of self-denial and sacrifice have been inspired by the working-class ideology, its noble ideas of redemption and human solidarity, starting with its very founders, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. These convictions nourished Lenin's extraordinary boldness and confidence, and also those of fighters of the October Revolution. They laid the foundations for the insuperable heroism of the Soviet people and of the Communists of many other countries in the battles against fascism. For decades, that unshakeable certainty in the people's cause has sustained the great and victorious epic of the Vietnamese fighters. It has instilled courage, serenity, optimism and unflinching integrity in the revolutionary fighters who in every latitude have stood the ultimate test of tyranny, imprisonment, torture and death.

It is our ideology that makes us strong and invincible.

Let us above all see to its purity, let us develop it with our modest experience, let us fight relentlessly and without any compromise against imperialism's and capitalism's reactionary ideas, whatever their form!

Great challenges and great battles still await humanity. We live in a period in which it is clearer than ever before that the revolutionaries, the Com-

munist have the duty to fight in the front ranks with ideas and actions. Although the correlation of forces in the world has tilted and will increasingly tilt in favor of socialism and the people's liberation movement, the struggle will still be long and particularly bitter in the sphere of ideology to the extent to which the most aggressive forces of capitalism realize that their possibilities to brutally resort to aggression, brazen blackmail and the threat or use of force so as to achieve their political aims dwindle from year to year.

We must not underestimate the enemy. Imperialism is still strong, though it will increasingly be less so. It still has plentiful economic, military, scientific and technical resources, and can still count, in particular, on vast experience in the use of lies, distortion and deceit to confuse and mislead the masses. Nor is it short of pseudo-revolutionaries and renegades who, sanctimoniously screening themselves up with ultra-radical words, in effect act as agents for division, seeking to hamper and paralyze the revolutionary movement. It has, furthermore, the wealth which the fabulous development of the modern productive forces, the exploitation of the working class and the plunder and waste of the world's resources have created for the bourgeoisie, which it now uses to foster egotism, individualism and irrational and wanton ambitions of consumption among the poor classes.

Cuba, a country with modest resources, which has to work for its development in face of adverse objective constraints, which does not aspire to luxuries, but to a life that is simple, full and worthy for all its children, has for its most powerful weapon the high morality, the ideological firmness and soundness of the people's revolutionary conscience.

This puts on us numerous external as well as domestic duties: to fight resolutely any manifestation of anti-communism and, particularly, the poisonous anti-Soviet campaigns; to counter every move tending

to divide the underdeveloped countries and the socialist community and set them against each other; to unmask the apologists of contemporary capitalism and their obsolete ideas that reality denies day by day; to uncover the true essence of today's revisionism, whatever its version, and show whom it really serves; to link closely the ideological struggle within our country and the concrete tasks we are to undertake in the fields of the economy, politics and cultural and social development; to work persistently and ardently for the advancement of the communist attitude of our working masses, for the development of the internationalist spirit that gives us such exceptional strength and for overcoming all the remnants and prejudices that might still exist in our society, like those relating to women, subjectivism, liberalism, the tendency to take the easy way, bureaucratic practices, the search for privilege, vanity and personal ambition.

Our Party, which has been perfecting its work of propaganda and dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninist education of cadres and members, is already in a position gradually to move toward the creation of higher institutions for theoretical work that are called upon to play an outstanding role in the elaboration and defense of our ideas.

Communist consciousness is not an automatic product of structural transformations. It has to be forged day by day in the vibrant experience of class struggle, in political education and in national and international information. We have the Party, its organs of orientation and its schools, the valuable and militant work of the revolutionary press and the mass media to fulfill such a task. We also count on the invaluable participation of the Young Communist League and the mass organizations of our workers, peasants, women, students, young people, children and the entire people. We also count on the magnificent school of patriotism and internationalism of our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry

of the Interior. We count on our teachers, professors, technicians and educational leaders. We count on our journalists, writers, artists and professional social organizations. We count on our editorial, cultural and scientific institutions. This is the immense force on which our Revolution can depend to advance and win in the battle of ideas!

## XI. FOREIGN POLICY

It has been repeatedly said that the characteristic feature of our epoch is that it is the historic moment of transition from capitalism to socialism, a period in which, besides, the battles for the people's national liberation are being intensified as a part of the eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and the neocolonialist presence imposed by imperialism over vast areas of the world.

In recent years, the most distinctive feature of this transition has been the lessening of international tension. Without taking into consideration this feature, it would be impossible to understand the changes going forward in our own continental region.

Our Party has clearly shown its interpretation of the content and origin of the detente at the moment in which important documents concerning the relations between the USSR and the United States on nuclear disarmament and arms cuts have been signed, during the visit of the CPSU General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to the United States in 1973.

We then determined that detente was the result of a long struggle in which the principles established by Lenin since the founding of the First Socialist State concerning the possibility and advantage of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems had forged their way in face of the stiff resistance of the most reactionary elements of imperialism. It was the result of the economic, political and military

victories of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, of the growing strength of the USSR and other socialist states, and of the progressive weakening of imperialism, especially US imperialism, which has been hit by the general crisis of capitalism and by the recent international economic crisis.

We cannot but take into account the fact that this process of detente includes the growing awareness among important US political and economic sections that peaceful coexistence, which helps to avert a third world war with the use of nuclear weapons, is the only possible way in which their own social system can survive for any length of time. But that awareness and the growing conviction among wider sections of the US people regarding the stupidity of the men in the Pentagon, in the Administration or in the military areas of the military-industrial complex, who claim that the historical contradiction between socialism and capitalism can be resolved by means of war, have also resulted from the succession of defeats suffered by US imperialist policy and the conviction these sections of the government and the people have gained from these defeats that imperialism is helpless in seeking to impose itself by military means.

This change in the correlation of forces has been influenced decisively by the crushing military defeat, suffered by the Pentagon in Indochina, and, especially, in heroic and much admired Viet Nam, where more than half a million US soldiers, equipped with the most modern weapons, were forced to withdraw ignominiously, first in face of the resistance and then, of the offensive of the Vietnamese people, supported by the USSR and other socialist countries, and by the tide of popular feelings which were aroused for Viet Nam, and against the imperialist presence in other parts of the world.

The victories of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos; the Arab world's resistance to US attempts to turn Israel into the leading power in the Middle East by means

of Zionist armed aggression; and Washington's difficulties in carrying on its declared policies of overlordship, designed to turn Western Europe and Japan into mere satellites, are all decisive factors in the decline inducing US imperialism to accept the alternative of detente.

Our people may feel proud of having in some measure contributed to that historical withdrawal of US imperialism, proving that, only 90 miles away, a small nation, relying on no other strength than its moral determination to resist to the very death and on the solidarity of the international revolutionary movement, was able to beat back the imperialist onslaught by the most oppressive power that ever existed in the history of mankind.

Washington's military and political defeats—in which several successive Democratic and Republican Administrations were involved—brought out the deep political and moral crisis of the leading forces of US society. The contradictions among the ruling groups made it possible to bring to light documents which would have otherwise remained in the obscurity of government vaults. First the Pentagon Papers and then the Watergate scandal clearly showed the people of the United States, as a Senate committee report on the criminal activities of the CIA now shows, that the "moral motivations" which the leaders of US society had been pleading for decades in plunging their people into military adventures of a purely imperialist nature were nothing but a cover-up for the rotten motives behind this policy.

In the case of Viet Nam, the Pentagon Papers revealed that aggressions like the "Tonkin Gulf Incident" had been invented. A vast majority of the US people, made up of sections of the middle classes and the proletariat, went into the fight in the belief that the country of Washington and Jefferson had the historical responsibility to defend the world against the danger of those who allegedly aimed to destroy

democracy and impose "communist barbarity". Watergate helped the US man-in-the-street to realize that neither did genuine democracy characterize US society, nor did its invented enemies have the evil character that the mass media had ascribed to them. The war against the Vietnamese people, which began with massive support in the United States, soon generated an anti-imperialist and anti-war conscience at the US universities, among the country's most prominent circles, and even in ever-growing sections of a working class duped by the advantages of the ruthless exploitation of other countries, which allowed the US monopolists to maintain a high level of employment and relatively high wages.

At the same time there came the protest of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano minorities of the USA, who were being used as cannon fodder in Viet Nam, as they had previously been in Korea, and who had to work in conditions of privation and backwardness unknown in the United States since the depression of the 1930s.

In the last two years, a new economic crisis has also broken out within the capitalist system, aggravating its historical general crisis, sparked off by the first imperialist war. This economic crisis is deeper and of a different nature from the one capitalism has suffered over the last forty years.

For the first time since the great depression, the decline in production and economic activity has been simultaneous in the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, with more than 500 million inhabitants, 48 per cent of world's industrial production, and 46 per cent of its trade. They have 85 per cent of the capitalist countries' working class.

This crisis is also characterized by the fact that for the first time in the history of capitalism both recession—that is, stagnation or decline in production—and inflation have coincided.

While inflation has reached "two digits", as they say, amounting to figures from 12 to 15 per cent in many countries, the level of unemployment, according to the International Labor Organization, is the highest for the last 40 years.

The United States, which by 1955 had three quarters of the world's gold reserves, twenty years later saw these reserves dwindle to less than 12,000 million dollars—which falls short of the US Treasury's liabilities—owing to the issue of paper money in dollars and Eurodollars, totalling over 6.5 times that figure, namely 78,000 million.

The imperialists tried to blame this crisis on the developing countries which, in possession of the bulk of the oil required for the world's consumption, suddenly and drastically increased the price of this indispensable fuel.

But, as we have said before, the inflation and stagnation in the world capitalist economy broke out long before the increase in oil prices. Their origins lie, above all, in the inflationary financing of the imperialist war against Viet Nam, into which the United States threw more than 150,000 million dollars, financed by issues not covered by economic production. There are also the incredible investments in armaments and the above-mentioned problem of Eurodollars, which it has used to invade the European economy, securing a foothold in some of its most crucial sectors.

In reality, oil prices directly account for less than 2 per cent of the increase in capitalist production costs. Their effects were felt mainly in the balance of payments of the economies of some industrialized countries importing vast amounts of oil, especially Japan, which had to import over 90 per cent of its oil. But the developed capitalist countries quickly raised the prices of their manufactured goods—complete plants, equipment and durables. Consequently, the main victims of the rise in prices have been the developing and underdeveloped countries which, like India,

Bangladesh or Guyana, faced catastrophic economic situations due to the dramatic and brutal imbalance to which they were subjected by the rise in the price of oil and, simultaneously, of the rest of their imports.

The bankruptcy of the capitalist economy has shown the inexorability of Karl Marx's predictions of more than a century ago, and is in contrast with the triumphant economic progress of the countries that, grouped in the CMEA socialist community, derive fundamental support from the Soviet Union's solid development.

Although the economic crisis cannot but affect the socialist community as well, for it cannot do entirely without economic relations with capitalism, the data on the economic development of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance conclusively show that, while the developed capitalist countries suffer stagnation or recession, the economies of the CMEA member countries have not only continued their steady advance, but are in the act of completing structural changes which are increasingly to turn them into industrial economic powers.

It is the combination of these factors that ultimately determines the trend prevailing today toward international detente which has made such significant advances, as will be seen from the results of the recent Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, climaxed at Helsinki by the presence of the chief leaders of the capitalist and socialist countries.

But if detente has been possible, it is due overwhelmingly to the Soviet Union's resolute policy of peace. This policy, inaugurated in Lenin's day and initially expressed in the Decree on Peace issued by the First Socialist State the day after it came into being, found its clear and coherent expression in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

However, international detente does not in any way mean that imperialism has lost its aggressive essence.

Peace will not be definitely assured until the time when imperialism, as a result of the change in the international correlation of forces, can no longer venture into military aggression to resolve the dilemma that inexorably threatens it with demise.

Nevertheless, forces active on the capitalist scene, particularly in the United States, preaching war as a solution to international problems are still very significant. Detente is not yet an irreversible process. We shall have to carry on the struggle to achieve this. Meanwhile, imperialism, while massing its forces, has sought to evade the commitments it has assumed with the Soviet Union under the SALT agreements and at the Helsinki Conference, and has used its military and economic potential in adventures, like those in the Middle East and, more recently, in Angola.

The situation in the Middle East, that decisive zone of the world, which the United States—through the Zionist State of Israel—has sought to convert into its own privileged enclosure, threatening the southern flank of the Soviet Union and, at the same time, depriving the Arab countries of the occupied territories and preventing the Palestinian people from establishing a national state of their own in the lands wrested from them by Israel with the complicity of international imperialism, continues to be a dangerous factor in international relations.

Only the firm stand of the Palestinians, the principled policy of Syria, and the support that both have received from Algeria, Libya and other Arab countries, supported in turn by the international solidarity of the peoples and by the clear-cut stand of the Soviet Union, have prevented ostensibly diplomatic arrangements in that area, which would have implied a surrender of the rights of the Arab countries and of Palestine to control by the United States through its instrument, Zionist Israel.

But the ambitions of imperialism now clash with the advances of the peoples in what was formerly its

vast colonial and neocolonial empire, and even in the capitalist citadel itself.

This was shown by the victory of the Portuguese people against the inveterate fascist tyranny of Salazar and Caetano, which opened up in that NATO country the prospect of democratic and revolutionary development, something internal and external reaction now seeks to prevent at all cost.

The electoral successes of the Italian Communist Party, the decisive strength shown in the French elections by the Left-wing alliance of the Communist and Socialist parties, the stand of the British working class and, particularly, the significant growth of the Left wing within the Labor Party, and the defeat of the Greek dictatorship, are other elements operating ever more potently in European politics.

In Africa and the Middle East, there is a reversal of the process by which the imperialists believed they could check the independent development of the peoples and turn into neocolonies the countries that had won political independence.

Algeria is not alone in her progressive attitude. Syria is today a bulwark of Arab positions and of anti-imperialist forces. Lybia has increasingly emphasized a policy of resistance to imperialism. The Democratic Republic of Yemen is working to overcome its difficulties and various threats, and to advance toward socialist transformations. Somalia, an African country belonging to the Arab League, is adopting a definite policy of socialist transformations.<sup>1</sup> Iraq, despite the fact that its contradictions with Syria make the Arab political participation less effective, has advanced in developing revolutionary transformations.

In Black Africa, the isolation in which Guinea remained under the leadership of its esteemed president, Sékou Touré, has disappeared. The People's

<sup>1</sup> More recently, the Somali leadership has sharply changed its course, embarking on collusion with reactionary imperialist quarters. —Ed.

Republic of Congo, with a party that subscribes to Marxism-Leninism, has set an example of endeavors of development and of internationalist firmness. The defeat of the Portuguese colonialists has given rise to Guinea-Bissau, which has developed as a new revolutionary bulwark, to Mozambique, which is strengthening anti-imperialist positions in an area of decisive importance, and to the recently constituted independent Republic of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA, in the thick of a heavy and heroic struggle against imperialism and its agents in Africa. Madagascar, for its part, has in recent months witnessed the emergence of a new anti-imperialist government. All this is filling up an area of countries governed by progressive forces, which in turn is strengthening Tanzania's and Zambia's policies, and will create conditions for the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to put an end to the hateful exploitation and apartheid of the South African and Rhodesian reactionaries.

Nor has imperialism any reasons to rest assured in Asia. The defeat in India of those who tried to oust Indira Gandhi and to disrupt the Indian Government's friendly bonds with the USSR deprived them of an element they were hoping to use in South-East Asia, at a time when they got away with the assassination of Mujibur Rahman, establishing a puppet government in Bangladesh, which has been unable to consolidate itself.<sup>1</sup> In Thailand, the popular forces have a growing influence. This makes the establishment in Indochina of the victorious states of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia ever more important, while in the Far East, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, with its reunification policy and its economic and social achievements, is jeopardizing the US presence in tottering South Korea.

<sup>1</sup> The present leadership in India has reaffirmed the continuity of the policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union.—Ed.

The growing influence of the Communists in Japan and the possible unity among the Communists, Socialists and other democratic forces there holds out hopeful prospects.

All this is reflected in the situation in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and other former colonial areas.

Such is the context of our efforts to carry on the construction of socialism within the American continent.

How different this is from the 1959-1962 period, when imperialism believed it could knock down our efforts for independence and our socialist drive, first by cutting off our energy supplies and its sugar purchases, and afterwards by military aggression and assassination attempts, and political and diplomatic isolation!

Today, Latin America is a very different place, indeed. The fiasco of the policy of isolating Cuba, which the United States started thirteen years ago to impose on the so-called Organization of American States, the rotten OAS, and which appeared to culminate in the 1964 Agreements, is due both to the firmness of our people, who resisted military harassment, political isolation and economic blockade, with the support and solidarity we mentioned earlier, and to the profound changes that have taken place in the international situation.

At this moment, Latin America is not immediately on the threshold of overall changes leading, as in Cuba, to sudden socialist transformations. It is clear that these are not impossible in some of the Latin American countries. But what determines the circumstances of our America is, above all, a general awareness—not only among its working class and the peoples, but also at key levels of some of its governments—that the conflict of interests between Latin America as a whole and each of our countries separately, and the policy of Yankee imperialism cannot be

resolved by way of sell-out or conciliation, but requires joint resistance, which is already being put up.

These are the days when the Latin American bourgeoisie thought that what they called Alliance for Progress was a way to avoid, with illusory US help, the turn of events that had taken place in revolutionary Cuba. The experiment of an ostensible "revolution in liberty", with which the United States had tried to make of Mr. Frey in Chile a counterpart of the socialism initiated in Cuba, has failed. The Brazilian "miracle" is collapsing.

While the masses of Latin America's workers and peasants continue their struggle, governments have appeared, some inspired by political conceptions leading to socialist aspirations, others guided by a clear anti-imperialist idea, and, lastly, by the defense of their countries' natural resources and economies in a purely nationalist context. But as a whole, these conceptions and policies are the groundwork for widespread Latin American unity in resisting and defeating the imperialist policy, and will inevitably contribute to the profound social transformations which Latin America urgently needs.

The Government of Peru, led by General Morales Bermúdez and his closest comrades, has continued and is deepening the process started in October 1968 by a military group who, by their example, opened a new era in the attitude of certain military forces in Latin America.

In Panama, the struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone, under the leadership of General Torrijos, is the symbol of a broader battle for full national independence and progress.

The nationalization of oil and iron ore in Venezuela, whatever the limitations that might be pointed out, is a development that ushers in a new trend in Venezuelan policy, for so many years subordinated to the oil trusts.

The establishment of independent countries in the



Caribbean—whose recognition of Cuba in defiance of Washington showed their determination for independence—has contributed to this continental trend.

President Echeverría has forcefully projected Mexico's international position by presenting the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, which served as the basis for the decisions taken by the 29th Session of the UN General Assembly.

All of this was expressed in the recent Panama meeting, where the Latin American Economic System (SELA) was founded. At a time when the OAS failure is undeniable, the creation of SELA gives Latin America, for the first time, its own organ of expression that cannot confine itself to analyzing and projecting Latin American positions in the economic field, but will also necessarily have inevitable political repercussions. The fact that all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are members of SELA gives some indication of the strength now being acquired in this hemisphere by the idea of defouling one's interests in the face of the traditional oppression and exploitation by US imperialism.

According to our Programmatic Platform, Cuba's foreign policy has, as its starting point, the subordination of Cuban positions to the international needs of the struggle for socialism and for the national liberation of the peoples.

Cuba, which has already proved the strength of its international solidarity by all possible means—blood, work and technical cooperation—will continue to make of this premise the basis of its international attitudes.

In this historic period, our people have honored, with resolve and without any hesitation, and will continue to honor in the future, the principles of proletarian internationalism and their duties to the world revolutionary movement.

Evidently, our participation in the international communist movement and the alliance with the anti-

imperialist and progressive forces which in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also in the developed capitalist countries, are now working for national liberation, peace and the democratic progress of mankind have an outstanding role to play in implementing this international policy.

The Communist Party of Cuba considers itself to be a modest but reliable detachment of the international communist movement. Proletarian internationalism is expressed, above all, in the necessary unity, cohesion and firmness of those who in all areas of the world have espoused the banners of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and have devoted all their efforts and their very life to carrying out the revolutionary program they have proposed to mankind. Our Party has participated in this, fully maintaining its independence of judgment but, at the same time, fully loyal to the common cause, together with the Communists of all countries.

We believe the unity within the international communist movement, based on the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to be an indispensable condition for the victory of the international struggles of the peoples and, for that reason, we reject and condemn—as we had the opportunity of stressing at the recent Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America—any attempt at weakening the unity of the communist forces in the international sphere and at minimizing or slandering the glorious role that the Communist Party of the USSR has played in contemporary history.

Our Party adheres to the policy of peace as a matter of principle. Throughout history, the Communists, from the Communards of Paris to Viet Nam, have had to fight very hard to carry out revolutions and heroically to defend their cause in the face of aggression by international reaction. But war among nations, as a solution to international differences, so common to the exploiting social systems, which for thousands of years have afflicted mankind, is completely alien to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Marx associated social-

ism and peace, and the very first decree of the newly born Soviet power in October 1917, written by Lenin himself, was a historic call for peace, which, on behalf of the workers and peasants of all Russia, he addressed to the peoples of the world, and especially to those who were then at war with the Russian Empire.

But peace has, for the Cuban Communists and for their people, a universal meaning. It must, therefore, be carried to all the corners of the world and equally benefit all the peoples.

By proclaiming this we do not, of course, subscribe to the idea that, in the name of the necessary universality of peace, denies the decisive role of the Soviet Union in international politics and the extraordinary efforts it has made to reduce, through bilateral negotiations with the United States, the dangers of a world conflagration.

Ever since the First Socialist State came into existence, it has never relaxed its struggle for peace. Subjected to intervention in its early years by numerous foreign powers, then involved in the devastating war imposed upon it by fascism, and later ringed with aggressive bases and atomic weapons, just when the victory achieved at the cost of such great sacrifice entitled it to expect a minimum of security and peace, no other people has longed for and defended peace as the Soviet people has. Neither has any other people experienced the horrors and cruelty of war at such close range.

Unlike capitalist States, the Soviet Socialist State had no investments to defend, no raw materials to search for, no riches to seize from any country in the world, or economic crisis to resolve, or the need to produce armaments for mere business purposes or to boost its economy, as so frequently happens within the capitalist system. What the Soviet people needed was peace to devote themselves to creative work and to develop their immense natural resources as the material basis for their social aspirations.

Furthermore, history proves that, unlike capitalism, socialism does not need to impose itself on other peoples by conquering them or waging foreign wars. Socialism is built by the people themselves, and it is the imperialists who, from the very beginning, undertook the task of hindering this construction with the use of force from outside. Who imposed socialism on Cuba? Who imposed it on Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia? Who imposed it on the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, Somalia, the People's Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and other peoples who have declared their intention of building it?

In the developed capitalist countries as well as in the underdeveloped countries of the world, socialist ideas have been gaining increasing prestige and strength. Who can prevent any future changes? Who needs to impose these changes from abroad through war? The solidarity and assistance that the peoples subjected to aggression need and receive from other revolutionary peoples in the face of imperialism's interventions and attacks is a very different thing. That is precisely the essence of proletarian internationalism, which the world revolutionary movement should practice without any hesitation.

Some regret to see the USSR a powerful country. The USSR acquired this extraordinary strength in the economic field through the dedicated efforts of its sons, without exploiting the labor of other peoples, and in the military field because of the imperative necessity to defend itself against imperialist interventions, invasions and encirclement with strategic bases. We Cubans regret to see Yankee imperialism, the peoples' enemy, powerful, but no true revolutionary, in any part of the world, will ever regret to see the USSR powerful, because but for that power mankind would never have been freed from fascism, the peoples who fought for liberation in the last 30 years would have had no place from which to receive decisive help, the imperialists would already have again redivided the world,

and all small and underdeveloped nations, of which there are many, would have once again been turned into colonies.

That is why we support the USSR's foreign policy, and also its recent endeavors for peace and to prevent a world conflagration, which can only be conceived by desperate reactionary hotheads, who, witnessing in their impotence the inexorable march of history, prefer to see the end of mankind, rather than of the exploiting, inhuman and degrading social system that imperialism has imposed on the world.

Never before has the struggle for peace been so essential, because never before have weapons acquired such devastating force, nor has the risk of mankind's annihilation ever been potentially greater.

Capitalism has no future. The future belongs entirely to socialism. To defend peace is to defend this future. At first, we ourselves, irritated and indignant with the constant imperialist aggressions, did not see these questions with the same clarity as we now do.

The Communist Party of Cuba joins in all the efforts that are being made in the international arena to achieve general and complete disarmament, even when this still seems to be a remote possibility, and at the United Nations Cuba has given its support to the USSR's proposals, which would, besides, open up the possibility of allocating to international development a part of the present enormous costs of war preparations in the capitalist and socialist countries, which belong to antagonistic pacts.

That is why we salute the successes of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and will, for our part, do everything necessary to extend and consolidate these results as part of the necessary struggle to make detente irreversible.

In the light of those principles, our international policy is quite clear.

This policy is based, in the first place, on unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union, the bastion of

world progress, which by its generous assistance in every field has made a decisive contribution to the survival of the Cuban Revolution in the face of aggression by the most powerful imperialist country in the world. We maintain, likewise, close relations with the socialist community countries, which make up the CMEA. All these years, Czechoslovakia and the GDR have supplied us with technologies and products that have contributed to Cuba's economic advancement and the substitution of the imports that the imperialist blockade has prevented us from receiving, something that endangered the operation of our industries. They, like Poland, Hungary and Rumania, have given us their cooperation since the early days, when Washington thought that by cancelling our sugar quota, it would force us to surrender. From these countries we have received technicians and scientists, who have helped us in research, and in technological, agricultural, industrial and geological work. With Bulgaria we have the close ties of countries which, similar in their patriotic and revolutionary traditions, in size of territory and population, have nevertheless a different level of development. This has made it possible for thousands of Bulgarian technicians—the largest number after those sent by the Soviet Union—to contribute to the transformation of our agriculture, to the building of dams and roads, and to other activities crucial to our national economy.

With all these countries, and also with the fraternal Mongolian People's Republic, we have solid bonds which become stronger through our participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, begun two years ago, and which will bear very important fruit for Cuba when, in the coming five-year period, our 30,000-ton nickel plant starts to operate thanks to the joint efforts of almost all the member countries. The visits paid to Cuba by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Mon-

golian People's Revolutionary Party; Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, and Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, gave our people an opportunity to express their fraternal feelings for the socialist countries, as they also did when the Prime Minister of Viet Nam, Comrade Pham Van Dong, came to our country.

The outburst of national joy over the visit by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, bore out the profound solidarity of our people with Lenin's Party and with the vanguard ideas to which the leaders of the CPSU have adhered firmly. We want to reiterate these feelings today before the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We express our deep satisfaction at again having with us dear Comrade Zhivkov, and we express profound satisfaction on receiving for the first time in our homeland Comrade János Kádár, a true representative of the Hungarian working class and the First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

We are also associated with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea through an identity of policies and the fact that both of us have been threatened by US imperialism for a long period of time. Korea also sent its technicians to Cuba, in spite of its own needs, to help us out in the initial period of industrial construction.

With Viet Nam and with the other countries of Indochina, Laos and Cambodia, we are associated in a long process of common struggle. The Cuban people have been willing to give even of their blood for Viet Nam, as we stated in those days, and anything we can do in modest contribution to the reconstruction of that heroic country to help it successfully to advance in its

glorious struggle for reunification and socialist transformations will be far too little to restore to the Vietnamese people all they have given up for the cause of world peace and for the liberation of the peoples. We joyously hail today, on behalf not only of all the Communists, but of all the Cuban people, the legendary and heroic Vietnamese fighter, Comrade Nguyen Giap, who heads the delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, and is here with us today.

Our relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have steadily improved.

Relations with the People's Republic of China and with the Republic of Albania, because of their well-known political positions, are merely interstate relations.

Our foreign policy unites us with all the anti-imperialist and progressive governments of Africa, Asia and Latin America, particularly within the Non-Aligned Nations Movement.

We have very close relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and its President, our friend Houari Boumedienne; with the distinguished Government of Syria, headed by President Assad; with that of Iraq, its President al-Bakr and its Vice-President Saddam Hussein; with the Democratic Republic of Yemen and its leaders, President Ruhai and dear Comrade Fattah Ismail, who is paying us an exceptional honor by his presence at this Congress, and whom we salute and to whom we express our feelings of gratitude and solidarity.

We have firm friendly relations with African countries: with the Government of Somalia, headed by Siad Barre; with the Republic of Guinea, whose respected head, Sékou Touré, was one of the first to come to this Cuban land to emphasize by his presence his solidarity with us in purpose; with the People's Republic of Congo and its President Ngouahi, who, by his recent visit to Cuba, has confirmed the friendship forged in the days of the Algiers Conference; with Tanzania

and Zambia, with whom, through meetings with Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda and their visits to our country, links of permanent cooperation have been established; with Guinea-Bissau, with whom we are united not only by an identity of cause, but also by the memory of its first leader, Amilcar Cabral, such a good friend of the Cuban Revolution, and the memory of the close fraternity that emerged in the midst of this struggle.

Confident of the victory of the people of Angola under the leadership of Agostinho Neto and the MPLA, we are ready to continue giving all the necessary help in their heroic struggle for the consolidation, independence and progress of their people.

New links have arisen with the Republic of Mozambique, headed by Samora Machel, and, following the transformations in Madagascar, we have established links with the government led by Didier Ratsiraka that we expect to become ever closer.

Asian countries with an independent foreign policy and, especially, those within the Non-Aligned Movement, are a part of our system of alliances based on a jointly adopted program.

We maintain friendly relations with India and Sri Lanka and their leaders Indira Gandhi and Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. We have initiated relations with Burma and the Kingdom of Nepal, with Malaysia, and, since the separation of Bangladesh, we have been improving our relations with Pakistan.

Mujibur Rahman's death stunned us, but we hope that the state of national defense and democratic changes he wanted to initiate will be consolidated in Bangladesh.

The difference in the political approach to many problems has not impeded relations, which we aspire to extend, with member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement such as Iran, Tunisia, and Uganda.

While we are aware of the heterogeneous character of the Non-Aligned Movement, we also know that

even in countries deeply divided socially, there exist common contradictions with imperialism, which bring them closer to us as well as to other countries within the Movement. We are ready to cooperate to the utmost in this cause, as we do with all those who strive to make of the Non-Aligned Movement an instrument of the countries, which had been exploited for centuries, to wipe out any vestige of imperialist domination, and as we are allied to the countries that constitute the socialist vanguard of mankind and to the working class and the people's movement of the developed capitalist countries, we are ready to cooperate in establishing a new system of international relations, a new economic order, and the premises for a general advance toward a socialist future.

The application to foreign policy of the principles of peaceful coexistence determines that our relations are not to be restricted by considerations of ideological differences.

In our policy toward the developed European countries, and toward Japan and Canada, in the period that we have termed the "survival" of the Revolution, we have borne in mind, above all, the need to prevent these countries from joining the economic and political blockade that the United States wanted to impose on Cuba. Our objectives have been fundamentally achieved.

An example of this is the high level reached by Cuban-French trade during the stage when General De Gaulle emphasized France's independence within the Atlantic Community and effected the French opening to the East. Further developments tended to weaken these bilateral relations until recently, when the high-level meetings between our countries once again brought to the forefront the possibility of intensifying these exchanges.

Likewise, the policy of the British Labor Government has lately led to fresh prospects in our bilateral relations. The creation of intergovernmental commis-

sions for economic, scientific and technical cooperation with France and Great Britain, and the one set up for the promotion of trade with Italy, reflect both the broadening possibilities of exchange, and Cuba's policy in this sphere.

Whereas up to now we have not had the same level of state relations with Japan, that government's understanding of Cuba's problems has been daily improving, as will be seen from the granting of credits by the Japanese EXIMPORT Bank and the visit to Cuba of important MITI officials. Furthermore, the most important Japanese private consortia have maintained toward Cuba a position of interest and cooperation with our plans of industrial development, and this has actually increased in view of the 1976-1980 five-year plan, in which Japan is taking an interest as great as, or even greater than, that of France, Great Britain and Italy.

We regard the renewal of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany as an expression of the new spirit in international relations. The fact that our criteria on many problems of the international situation are different from and even contradict those of such countries has not prevented the existence of a wide area of bilateral accords of common interest, within the framework of relations of mutual respect.

Among the non-socialist countries, a special place belongs to the group of Scandinavian countries—Sweden, in the first place—and Canada. These countries have predominantly capitalist relations, even though socialist governments decide on the policy of the Scandinavian countries. In Canada, capitalist development has undoubtedly reached the big monopoly-capital stage. Nevertheless, neither the one nor the other carry any burden of an earlier colonialist policy. On the other hand, these countries' most recent governments have realized in time that they cannot meet their requirements for an active participation in the world economic development by the coarse prac-

tices of colonialism. That is why we find our relations to be of a different nature.

We should like to emphasize one distinction with regard to Swedish policy. We do not find strange the friendly cooperation offered by the Swedish Government, headed by Olof Palme, on the problems of scientific and technical development and, especially, education and public health. This policy is in agreement with the firm stand taken by the Swedish Government on Viet Nam and Chile.

Prime Minister Palme's visit to Cuba served to confirm the many identical areas between us, whereas, on the other hand, there was some difference of opinion on European problems, like Portugal.

Canada, constrained by the heavy presence of the United States in its economy, has not, nevertheless, yielded to the multiple pressures to join the blockade against Cuba. Our moderate trade cooperation is now becoming an important element of industrial development and trade. We are looking forward to Prime Minister Trudeau's coming visit to Cuba not only as an opportunity to strengthen bilateral exchanges, but, what is more important, as a sign of the Canadian Government's Latin American positions on which we have repeatedly expressed our view, stressing the significant role that a great neighbor country can play in establishing the necessary equilibrium in continental relations between the developed industrial North and the Latin American and Caribbean South.

By the time of our First Congress—as we have had the opportunity of saying before—the US effort to isolate revolutionary Cuba from the other peoples of Latin America has been almost totally defeated. To the peoples' admiration has now been added the ever greater respect of the governments for Cuba's stand and ever deeper understanding of the role that Cuba's firm and independent attitude has played and can play in the necessary common defense of the economic interests and the political safeguarding of our countries.

We should like to pay tribute once again to the loyalty of Mexico's governments to the traditions prevailing in that country since the days of Benito Juárez, which have been so resolutely upheld by the eminent Mexican, Lázaro Cárdenas. Mexico's repudiation of the decisions of the OAS honors these governments. Let us add, besides, that President Licenciado Luis Echeverría, in applying his internationalist positions, has pursued toward Cuba a policy of friendship and cooperation, to which the Cuban people were able to give a response when he was welcomed in our country with the fraternal joy this stand deserves.

The Government of the Armed Forces of Peru and the Government of Panama, renewing relations with Cuba before the positions of the OAS were weakened, gave proof of their independent attitude in international politics, stressing the spirit of transformation in their countries that both have undertaken. Similarly, the position of the Caribbean countries, stated at the Caracas Meeting by Prime Minister Eric Williams, upheld by Jamaica, Guyana, and Barbados, has contributed to the removal of the agreements which were imposed by Washington upon the Latin American governments and which did not represent their peoples in a worthy manner. The meetings with Prime Ministers Manley and Burnham in Guyana, Algiers and Havana, strengthened our Caribbean links, that could be consolidated by the recent constitution of the Committee for the Development and Cooperation of the Caribbean, which met in Havana.

We are satisfied with the renewal of relations with Venezuela, which has coincided with the policy of defense of Venezuelan national wealth undertaken by President Carlos Andrés Pérez and the subsequent decision of Colombian President López Michelsen of similar import. We reiterate, furthermore, our appreciation of those who, at Quito, cast their vote for the lifting of the sanctions against Cuba, which was so important for subsequent and recent agreements.

We hardly have to express the view that we are not in the least interested in relations with the fascist Chilean junta, and that, furthermore, we are committed to all the efforts being made to isolate and defeat those who have tried with a torrent of blood to block the Chilean road to full independence and the social changes that are inevitable. The "great avenues" of which President Allende spoke will be opened up for the Chilean people perhaps sooner than his cowardly murderers imagine.

In this hemisphere, besides the above-mentioned countries, we maintain solid relations with those who struggle for the independence of the brother country of Puerto Rico, with which we express our firmest and most unflinching solidarity.

Lastly, in what concerns international policy, it remains for us to reiterate before our Party's Congress Cuba's well-known stand on the problem of our relations with the United States. On our "lack of relations", we should say that it was not Cuba that severed the relations or started on the road of aggressions, which we have defeated, but that it is the others who are under an obligation to cut them short for good.

We have given a recapitulation of such aggressive acts. But we understand that it is our duty, as a State of the international community, to be open to the settlement of a problem that at some stage endangered peace in all the world.

On more than one occasion, US journalists by their questions, and even Senators and Representatives in their conversations, have broached this problem, wondering if Cuba was interested or not in renewing such relations and the extent to which we expect to derive any economic advantages. Well, that is not the point. It is undeniable that the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Cuba, the renewal of trade and financial exchanges would give our country the possibility of utilizing many technologies which are now denied us by the Yankee blockade, or



obtaining plants and equipment for our economic plans at lower transportation costs or on better financial terms. But what is fundamental in this important problem is above all our policy of principle. If this people rose up from one end of the Island to the other during Girón and was ready to face nuclear annihilation in the October Crisis, you cannot expect it now, that those threats have been thrown into the trash can of history, to accept humiliating or subjecting conditions to arrange what the other party has brutally disrupted.

We are ready to negotiate, and we reiterate this, but we reiterate here at our Congress, before the entire Cuban people, that official negotiations cannot be carried on, unless the US Government rectifies the substance of its blockade policy. It is not a matter of counting the steps each one is supposed to take. If it were a matter of measures, the other party would still have a long way to go before getting closer to what international justice demands. It is a question of negotiating on equal terms, and we have already said that for us the blockade is a knife at our throat, which determines an atmosphere for negotiations that we will never accept.

## XII. INTENSE WORK IN THE YEARS AHEAD

This year of the First Congress has been a year of hard effort for revolutionary cadres and militants, but the coming years will not be less hard. The work to be carried out in the next few years to fulfill the decisions that are to be adopted at this Congress will be intense and complex owing to the diversity of the tasks and to the scope and depth of the transformations to be carried out.

Among the matters to be dealt with by the Congress and on which it will take decisions, the ones that will generate more substantial, extensive and deeper changes are those relating to the process of the country's institutionalization and the rearrangement of all economic activity.

Among the many other tasks, the now politico-administrative division, the constitution of the organs of people's power in the entire country and the creation of conditions to implement the Economy Direction System require organized, responsible and hard work.

In order to achieve the best organization of this effort, the best use of time and resources, and to reduce to a minimum the possible effects on daily activities entailed by every process of change, a Work Schedule has been elaborated, in timetable form, embracing the principal activities to be carried out during 1976, 1977 and 1978, so as to put into practice the institutional transformations and the above-mentioned economic adjustment, which will be submitted for consideration by the Congress.

This Work Schedule has 152 tasks of essential importance, closely interrelated and interdependent, and the date has been determined, for each one in particular, on which it is to start and the date on which it is to be completed, and this also applies to the activities which are consistent with and whose implementation depends, therefore, on the completion of the given activity in due time.

This means that the delay in the completion of any of these activities will have implications that will affect the completion of many others, and will jeopardize, to a greater or lesser extent, the fulfillment of the program as a whole. Hence, the exceptional importance of having all organisms and organizations, all Party, State and mass organization cadres and functionaries act with the maximum responsibility in implementing the tasks in which they have to participate in one way or another.

It is necessary to take appropriate steps and measures to ensure the achievement of the following objectives:

— To hold a referendum on the Constitution and the Law on the Constitutional Transition on February 15, 1976, and to proclaim our Socialist Constitution on February 24, the date on which we shall be marking

the 81st Anniversary of the 1895 War of Independence.

— To apply the new Politico-Administrative Division at the municipal level in April and May 1976.

— To hold elections of delegates to the local Organs of the People's Power and deputies to the National Assembly in the second half of October and the first days of November 1976, with the purpose of holding the first meeting of the National Assembly of the People's Power, the highest organ of State power formed by representatives of the people elected by the whole country, on December 2 of the coming year, the 20th Anniversary of the *Granma* landing.

— To form the local Organs of the People's Power and to turn over to them the corresponding production and service activities of local importance in November and December 1976 and the early months of 1977.

— To re-establish receipts-and-payments relations between enterprises and units of the State sector, in accordance with the principles of the Economy Direction System, which will be submitted to this Congress, to apply a new National Accounting System and to implement a national budget in January 1977.

— To begin in 1978 the establishment of the Economy Direction System in a group of selected experimental enterprises representative of the various production and service activities in the country.

— In the last two years of the five-year period, the gradual application of the Economy Direction System will take place in all economic spheres and activities.

— So as to assure the realization of all these aims of exceptional importance for the consolidation and progress of our economic development and of the Revolution in general, it is necessary to fulfill, with the required quality and in due time, each of the tasks included in the Work Schedule.

We know that our Party will assume and fulfill its responsibilities with a resolute spirit.

## CONCLUSION

This report is coming to an end. We realize that there might have been omissions, that some subjects have been dealt with briefly for reasons of time, and that some details might be superfluous, but we have done all that is humanly possible to reflect the work of the Revolution and its historic significance. It is not easy to synthesize the background of our present process and 17 years of revolutionary power in a few words.

The important thing, dear comrades, is that in our ascending political advance we have reached the point at which we now find ourselves. It is impossible not to feel at this moment the satisfaction of knowing that today our people have an honorable and dignified place in the world revolutionary movement, and that a bright future lies ahead of us to the extent to which we are capable and worthy of it.

This Congress will be like a luminous star to guide us along the road. The Party, its rules, its principles, its organization, its strength, will carry us invincibly forward. There is no difficulty that we cannot overcome, no mistake that cannot be avoided, if anticipated, or promptly rectified, if made.

How could we forget at this moment the outstanding men who accompanied us in this struggle and who are not physically present today at this Congress: Abel Santamaría, Juan Manuel Márquez, Nico López, Frank País, José Antonio Echeverría, Che, Camilo, Lázaro Peña and so many other worthy builders of the present of our Homeland? How could we forget the members of the Central Committee who gave their lives for the internationalist cause: Vilo Acuña, Eliseo Reyes and Antonio Sánchez Díaz? How could we forget those who today are doing their duty, many of them members of our Party and even elected delegates to this Congress, who are not with us at this moment?

Presiding over this event, together with the images of Che and Camilo, the legendary figure of Jolito An-

tonio Mella reminds us of the dedicated fighters who dreamt of and died for a day like this.

The images of Martí, Gómez and Maceo beside those of Marx, Engels and Lenin, symbolize those who fought for the Cuban Homeland alongside those who wanted to turn the whole of humanity into one great nation. A Republic with everyone and for the good of all, exclaimed the hero of our independence one day, and his words resound in this hall like an echo of the great call with which the founders of scientific socialism shook the world: Workers of all countries, unite! Here we are at last, with everyone and for the good of all, and with us, representatives of the world revolutionary movement expressing the encouragement and solidarity of all the Communists and progressive men of the world with our small country, and also the bonds of union among all proletarians of the world, as impressive proof that those visionaries knew how to peer into the future of mankind.

What is taking place here now, as it did yesterday, in the very heart of the empire of the czars and in so many other countries of the world, epitomizes the world's future.

To all the Cuban Communists, to all the comrades of the Revolution, we are grateful for the confidence and affection with which they have accompanied their leaders in these heroic and crucial years for the Homeland.

May the most absolute honesty, unbounded loyalty to principle, selflessness, the capacity for self-sacrifice, revolutionary purity, the spirit of advancement, heroism and merit always prevail in our Party.

*¡Patria o Muerte!*

*¡Venceremos!*

CLOSING SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO RUZ,  
FIRST SECRETARY  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

Esteemed guests,

Dear comrades,

The moment has come for us to close our historic Congress.

There is not much to be added to what has been done, agreed and said here.

Of course, at a time like the present, one has to control one's emotions.

When delivering the Report to the Congress, we said that it could have some omissions. Indeed, it did have some. For instance, when we spoke of the visitors who had come to this country, a name omitted among those listed was that of a very important guest, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Comrade Arafat, who is much loved and immensely admired in our country, with whom we have always been joined in a spirit of solidarity, and whose visit to our country is a great honor for our people. I take this opportunity to rectify this involuntary omission.

At the same time, although in this case there is no question of any omission—while working on the Report, we were aware of its enormous length and sought to deal with the general aspects of our policy, without going into detail—I take this opportunity to express our Party's opinion and its solidarity with the universal demand for the release of Luis Corvalán in Chile, for

we regard Luis Corvalán as a symbol of the revolutionaries being held in the prisons of Latin America. He represents all those fighting Communists, Socialists and progressives of the whole continent for whose liberation we must carry on a tireless struggle.

I should like to say a few words about our Party's Central Committee.

It turns out that in a country which has so many men and women with merits, capabilities and communist spirit it is not at all easy to draw up a list of those who should be on the Central Committee. First, it was necessary to renew its composition to some extent, and to substitute some comrades. And that, of course, was not easy to do, because although some of the substituted comrades had made mistakes, that was not the fundamental reason or general rule in accordance with which the group of comrades have been substituted, but the need to abide by the principle of renewal and substitution of a part of the Central Committee.

And when the moment comes, one has to deal with comrades who have extraordinary historical and personal merits but who have, nevertheless, to be substituted to enable us to abide by this sound principle.

At such moments, there is need to make a deep study of every proposed candidate in order to decide who of these comrades, in virtue of the work done, in virtue of the functions they have exercised, should remain on the Central Committee, and who can be substituted with the least effect on the Central Committee.

That is why we want to express our gratitude to, and our respect and our affection for the substituted members of the Central Committee.

At the same time, all of us now on the Central Committee should realize that when the next Congress is convened we shall again have to face the bitter need to substitute a part of the membership of the Central Committee. This is advisable and useful from the standpoint of the Party's work, because now qualities and new cadres emerge, and these the Revolution

must promote. The renewal of our leading cadres is a vital law. It is useful for the Party, it is good for the Party, and even if all should do their utmost, and all should work perfectly, at the next Congress we shall still inevitably have to renew a part of the Central Committee.

On the other hand, the nomination of new comrades for the Central Committee was no easy task either. It being indisputable that no handiwork of man is perfect, that no selection is perfect, we feel that what is important in this case is the effort undertaken to make the best possible selection among the comrades who could have been nominated.

One of our preoccupations, for instance, was to have women represented on the Central Committee, and if not on the Central Committee, then at least among the alternate members of the Central Committee. Our another preoccupation was that every aspect of our activity, all the main lines of our work should be represented on the Central Committee, in such a way that the composition of our Central Committee should reflect our Party's innumerable activities: in the provinces, in the country's defense and production activity, and mass organizations. And we feel that the decisions that have been taken, the approved nominations and the elected comrades introduce some new and truly excellent principles into our society and our revolutionary process. Because—and this is principle number one—it is impossible to seek to fill the office of Central Committee member. It is up to the Party to decide. In our healthy, truly healthy society, no one runs, and no one should ever run for this office. In our society and in our Party one principle should reign supreme: merit, capability, modesty. No office should ever imply any privileges whatsoever! Our society's appreciation of its militant revolutionaries carries no preferences with it.

The comrades on the Central Committee exercise a function in virtue of their capabilities and merits, but

our Party and our society elevate thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary people, although they are not on the Central Committee. Thus, there are countless Heroes of the Zafra, dozens of Heroes of Labor, and thousands upon thousands of unknown heroes. We should even say that it is the unknown hero that our Revolution values above all! This is the common man, the modest fighter, who does his duty, being guided only by his conscience, never being concerned about whether or not his merits are recognized! That is a model of the Communist! And what is important is that the Party and the people should feel that they are represented on their Central Committee.

It is very good that the election to the Central Committee has to be deserved, as it is deserved in our country. It is very good that there are comrades like Pedro Rodríguez Peralta, who has won this honor by fighting in the ranks of the Liberation Movement together with the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, and who, being gravely wounded and taken prisoner by the enemy, withstood years of incarceration in the fascist prisons of Portugal, remaining firm and unflinching, like a true Communist, in face of the maltreatment and all kinds of pressures to which he was subjected in solitary confinement thousands of kilometers away from the Homeland. How far it must have been from his mind then to think that the day would come when the people would have the opportunity to testify to their admiration for such impeccable qualities of the Communist!

Roinaldo Castro shows us that it is possible to win the right to be a leader of our Party by cutting cane in a field. Pilar Fernández's example shows us that it is possible to win the honor of being a member of the Central Committee by doing modest work at a factory, efficiently managing the enterprise and dedicating one's life to ensuring its smooth operation. Or to science and the saving of human life, like Zoilo Marinello; or to the writing of popular and revolutionary poetry

for many years, like Nicolás Guillén. To these can be added many other examples, like that of Facundo, who first had a pair of shoes to wear when he was 14 years old, and who dedicated his life to the struggle of the workers and peasants.

In short, working and doing their duty, militant revolutionaries, wherever they may be, at home or abroad, symbolizing the efforts of tens and hundreds of thousands or even of millions of Cubans, can deserve this extraordinary honor, of which they never thought and which they never sought. Because each of us has his own Central Committee, which is much higher than even the Central Committee of our Party. It is the Central Committee of the conscience of each one of us.

We have sought to elaborate the proposals for the Congress in such a way that the Party should feel itself worthily represented.

And the Party's opinion was expressed in the elections, and in practice in the unanimity with which the leaders of the Central Committee have been elected. When we speak of unanimity we do not in any way censure the comrades who have freely expressed their opinions, because it is this honesty, this freedom and this spirit with which everyone expresses his opinion that we wanted, that we want, and that must exist in our Party.

That is why the principle of creating the conditions and the facilities has been established. But at the next Congress we must have even more of these facilities; we feel that these electoral booths should be better designed and have more facilities, with a small table and everything else to enable everyone freely to express his opinion, because that is exactly what we want.

But we want something more: we want every Party leader never to think of the elections when fulfilling his duty; to act with justice, firmness and, at the same time, in a spirit of humanism—because for our Party

humanism must be supreme—and at the same time with firmness, with steadfastness in fulfilling his duty, never giving a thought about the elections even if the price of fulfilling that duty means failing to obtain a single vote in favor in an election.

In a Party which is as healthy as our Party, this must be the chief criterion. This has been proved. Our Party's purity has been expressed in its acts and behavior. And we want to blend together the following principles: purity, honesty, critical spirit, and freedom of expression!

Comrades, we believe that a good Central Committee has been elected. After the Congress, this Central Committee will have very important functions to perform in directing the Party.

Together with the Central Committee, our Political Bureau has been enlarged. We have been closely following the work of our Congress and seen the profound confidence that you have in the members of the Political Bureau of our Party.

The Bureau has been enlarged. It has been enlarged with the inclusion of comrades like Blas Roca, whose life is a monument to simplicity, modesty, diligence and identification with the working people's cause, and at the same time, a monument to capability and efficiency. He is a comrade who has all these years done outstanding work in fulfilling all the tasks assigned to him by the Party.

It has been enlarged with the inclusion of Comrade Machadito\*—as almost all of us call him—whose merits, whose character, whose prestige and whose authority are known to one and all.

It has been enlarged with the inclusion of Comrade Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, whose capabilities are proverbial, for even in the epoch of capitalism Carlos Rafael was spoken of with much respect, and who has worked tirelessly in fulfilling all the tasks set before him

\* José Machado Venbura.—*Ed.*

by the Revolution, brilliantly directing our Party's External Relations Department.

It has been enlarged with the inclusion of Comrade Pedro Miret, one of the first young University students who joined the struggle which initiated this process, and who was entrusted by the FEU to deal with the military training of fighters; who flung wide open the doors of the University for the training of the units which later carried out the assault on Moncada; who fought heroically at Moncada; who, while being in Mexico, was unable to join in the expedition because he had been arrested by the police; who in prison had to suffer the anguish of seeing his comrades depart, and who throughout the 17 years of the Revolution, in addition to his merits in the war after he was able to join us in Sierra Maestra, has worked modestly in performing all the tasks assigned to him.

There is also Comrade Milián,\* whose excellent work as leader of Las Villas province is known to all.

The Political Bureau has been enriched by this enlargement and inclusion of these comrades, because they have brought with them experience in the most diverse fields. Comrades, like Milián and Machadito, who have spent years in the provinces, directing the Party in the provinces, and who are well versed in all the problems of Party direction in the provinces—just as Comrade Hart and Comrade Almeida—bring with them to the Political Bureau their practical experience in this field.

In addition, in the process of institutionalizing and restructuring the country we can count on comrades, with all the authority of being members of the Political Bureau, to work in the various parts of the country—Oriente, Las Villas and La Habana—throughout the whole transitional period, when there is a need of appropriate cadres to facilitate the changes.

\* Arnoldo Milián.—*Ed.*

We are perfectly aware that it is not enough to say that Las Villas is to be divided into three provinces; there is a need in the course of a definite period to co-ordinate an infinite number of tasks among these three provinces. And there is a need for comrades who would, on behalf of the Party, help and collaborate in effecting these changes and in fulfilling the tasks set before each of these provinces. We have need of them in Las Villas, and in Havana, and in Oriente; and it is truly excellent that the Party can count on these cadres.

In addition, much time, energy and effort are required for work in the sphere of international relations, in representing the Party in international events, at the Congresses of other Parties, and in giving a fitting welcome to our guests. Here we shall be greatly helped by the enlargement of the Political Bureau. Eight members were clearly not enough to fulfill all these tasks.

At a meeting of the new Central Committee, we have already explained in what form the working Secretariat is actually retained. It remains for us to elect a Control Commission of the Party in accordance with the Statutes, a task the Central Committee is later to fulfill.

Finally, concerning the leadership, our Party has elected as its Second Secretary a comrade who undoubtedly has all the necessary qualities, capabilities and merits to fill the post.

It is well known that nepotism cannot and will never exist in our Party: that is well known! Now and again, two leaders make up one family, like Raúl and Vilma. There are also the cases of other comrades. But in our Party, where merit must always prevail, neither friendship nor kinship will ever be factors of consideration.

We have here the case of Gallego Fernández and Comrade Asela: they are both on the Central Committee. But is that any fault of ours? What counts are the merits, nothing but the merits of each of them.

Concerning Comrade Raúl, it is, in fact, a privilege for me that, apart from being an outstanding revolutionary leader, he is my brother.

His merits have been won in the struggle since the earliest period. The family relation served only to involve him in the revolutionary process and invite him to take part in the assault on Moncada. And it is still a vivid memory that when a patrol burst into the courthouse in Santiago de Cuba and arrested their group, if Raúl had not done what he did at that moment, he would have been dead a long time ago. He snatched the pistol from the patrol commander and took prisoner that very patrol. If he had not done that, they would have been killed in Moncada a few hours later. That was the start. Then followed imprisonment, exile and the *Granma* expedition, difficult moments, the opening of the "Second Front",\* and work throughout all these past years.

I say all this and emphasize it because it is necessary to explain that in our Revolution it will never be any consideration of friendship or kinship but merit alone that is and will always be the established criterion. We Cubans understand this very well, but it is also necessary that this should be understood abroad as well.

We feel that the Congress has done much work in electing its leadership. I will not say it has done excellent work, because we should not forget that the speaker is also one of those who have been elected. Now that I have mentioned the point, I must say a few words about it. First, I sincerely believe that when Comrade Fabio Grohart spoke of the reasons for which the decision was taken to propose me for the post of Secretary of the Central Committee, he said much more about me than I deserve. It may now appear that

\* Second Front—an area in the north of Oriente province where the Frank País guerrilla detachment, led by Raúl Castro, operated independently after descending from Sierra Maestra in March 1958.—*Ed.*



some of us have special merits, but we should not for a moment forget that more than being men with great merit we are men to whom chance and history have conceded exceptional privileges. How many men have fought since the period of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Martí, Mella! They all fought to see our country free one day, to see their dreams become reality, but historical factors and the terrible forces opposing them made it impossible for them to see the day on which their efforts were crowned, to see the day on which their dreams were realized. Many of these men were unable to see their country free, they were unable to see the day when the whole country was united, independent, sovereign, revolutionary, democratic, just and victorious. They were unable to see this, despite their exceptional personal merits! We, for our part, are a handful of men with modest merits and exceptional privileges, due to being heirs to those who had fulfilled the major part of this task. We are more than just men of merit, but we are the privileged heirs of what others have done.

We have been helped by historical forces, by the correlation of international forces. That is why we were able to continue the efforts of so many men who had fought so much, and who had never lived to see their dreams realized. That is the reality, and that is how we see it, and must see it.

I know, comrades, that some of you were pained when we analyzed our mistakes; I also know that some comrades were truly upset when we spoke of the sources of petty-bourgeois attitudes and chauvinism, which usually affect those who have reached the path of the Revolution along purely intellectual ways. But if many of us were not proletarians, if many of us were not exploited peasants, if our class background failed objectively to make us revolutionaries, what were the ways in which we could have joined the Revolution but the ways of thought, of vocation, and human sensibility? Perhaps because we had some revolutionary genes in

our make-up? It may well be that I had inherited these from my ancestors, exploited peasants in Galicia? It could be so. That is what we wanted to say, and that is the truth. We could not maintain that the world is full of revolutionaries. On the contrary, we can say that the world is full of petty bourgeois. We can truly say that the world abounds in people who arrive at revolutionary positions through purely intellectual ways, but who carry with them their class preconceptions and these traits. There are many such people in Latin America, Europe, everywhere, and that is the truth. We constantly come across this spirit. What else can we do but recognize this truth? And what better proof is there that we are beginning to overcome and eradicate these origins, than our understanding of the fact that we have them?

Nor is this an urge for self-criticism alone. We have made a necessary analysis of our mistakes, without any exaggerations. A more exhaustive analysis would have revealed many more mistakes. We have indicated only the most essential of these. What is more, as a revolutionary principle, comrades, self-criticism is always a thousand times more preferable than self-complacency. It will always be more preferable to tone down one's virtues than to indulge in self-praise!

We truly believe that revolutionary leaders should constantly analyze their work in a spirit of self-criticism in private, if not in public. We should always be giving an account to our conscience. We can never feel self-satisfied, because a self-satisfied man is not a revolutionary.

What do we need? Is it praise? No. The men who have the confidence of the collective and of their people, the men who are vested with great power in virtue of their office to which they are appointed by their compatriots, what they need is not praise.

What does history show? That men have wielded power and have abused it. Even in revolutionary processes, some men acquire extraordinary power, above

all in the first phase, in the early years. When the process has been institutionalized, when a Party already exists, when the rules have been established, and when these rules have been translated in practice into the culture of the community, then there are no dangers.

But at the stage of the revolutionary process through which we all have gone, the danger was great: the danger of vanity, the danger of self-exaltation, the danger of haughtiness, the habit of having authority, the habit of wielding power, of exercising power. How many dangers lurk there! How many mistakes humanity has committed because of this throughout its history!

It is very important, therefore, throughout this whole period—and ever after—that the men who have power and great responsibilities vested in them by their compatriots should have the duty to be firm and the duty to be rigorous with respect to themselves. We believe that this is a principle that our Party should always abide by, even though in our Party, in our future, men will come individually to count for less and less, the leaders individually to count for less and less.

In the past, a rural doctor had everything he wanted. He was a delegate of the party which existed there. If there was a need to elect a councillor, he was elected. An alcalde, he again. A representative, he again. A senator, he again. The doctor was the only man who knew anything in the village. But what would have happened in that village if all its inhabitants became doctors? That is what happens in the Revolution.

At some specific moment, some men play a role, an outstanding role. Everyone believes in these men.

The masses are ignorant, illiteracy prevails everywhere; and so a few men who have had the privilege of going to a university come to know a little more than the rest.

That is why in almost all the revolutionary processes to this day, many of those who elaborated the ideology did not come from the lowest sections; but because they

had access to the universities, to which the worker, the peasant and the common man of the people had no access, they had a great role to play. After all, even Marx and Engels were not proletarians. They were able to study at universities. The workers who had to toil for 16 and 17 hours a day at a factory were unable to elaborate the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

But with the Revolution, the universities are opened to everyone, culture is opened up to everyone, and there comes a time when knowledge no longer belongs to a few individuals, but to the masses.

Like all the socialist revolutions, our Revolution is advancing along a way in which knowledge gradually becomes the possession of the masses. This means that there will no longer be any great distinctions between the knowledge of individuals and the knowledge of the masses. And there will come a time when these distinctions become minimal, I mean the distinction between the knowledge of the leaders and of those who are led.

Strictly speaking, there are no geniuses in mankind, but only outstanding personalities. You must have read about the prizes being awarded to some individuals, but genius is not inherent in individuals, but in the masses. When someone has achieved prominence in mathematics, it is because hundreds of thousands of others have not had the opportunity to study mathematics. When someone has achieved prominence in political economy, or history, or in any other branch of human knowledge, this means that others have not had the opportunities to study. But when the masses obtain access to culture, to study, to knowledge, the distinctions tend to disappear, because instead of one genius there are a thousand, ten thousand. But where there are ten thousand geniuses, there is no individual genius, but a collective genius.

We are entering upon a period of institutionalization of the revolutionary process, a period of security, a period of solid guarantees, because these guarantees are no longer ensured by men but by institutions.

We men are frail beings: we depart from life for various reasons, like a poor digestion or a traffic accident, to say nothing of the CIA's treacherous and truculent assassination plans.

We have had a very difficult period—and we already discussed it at the Central Committee today—in which we have had to display exceptional concern about our leaders, because they have had a decisive role to play. That was a critical period. And I said: Well, if I am killed, Raúl will be there, and the Revolution will not be destroyed. Now the situation has changed. If I am not there, if Raúl is not there, the Revolution will continue; if the Political Bureau is not there, the Revolution will continue. This is remarkable! If the Central Committee is not there, the Revolution will still continue. If this wall suddenly collapses and the Central Committee disappears, we are sure that you will get together and elect another good Central Committee. Let me say more: if this Congress, that is, the delegates present here, disappears, the Revolution will continue.

It is true that we have here the chief leaders of the country, the chief cadres of the Party, of the Armed Forces, and of the Ministry of the Interior. They are all here. But if such a hypothetical thing happened, those who are outside these walls, the members of the ground organizations, the nuclei, the regional, municipal and provincial Party organizations, the lieutenants and captains of the military units and the Ministry of the Interior, would carry on the Revolution. Because behind them are 200,000 Communists, who are not here, because behind them is the whole people, the just cause of our revolutionary ideas!

That is the importance of the Party, the importance of institutionalizing the Revolution.

But despite this assurance, we have still taken steps to protect this theater. I draw your attention to this! The Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior, and also the organizers of

this Congress have provided for every contingency, for instance, to prevent a plane loaded with bombs from falling on top of this building. It is because, despite the fact that everything would have been just as I have said it would, there could at first have been considerable confusion. No? I withdraw my statement about the initial confusion. I withdraw it because it is not right. It would be more correct to say that there would have been a great tragedy, a heavy loss for the country, because of the great importance of the vast experience of the men and women present here. That is why all these measures have been taken!

Everyone who has read the stories about the CIA knows that they contain no exaggeration and that a routed and desperate enemy is quite capable of doing anything. Indeed, now and again this has happened. But over here the enemy has had a chance of catching unawares all the leading cadres of the Party, the State, and the mass and defense organizations, and also so many illustrious guests.

Take Giap: in the 30 years of war they have been unable either to capture or encircle him, but here in the Karl Marx Theater imperialism could have got him.

But we could not leave imperialism the slightest hope of doing so; that is why all the measures have been taken. The sittings of the Congress have ended relatively early, because it was somewhat more difficult to organize the defense of this theater at night. All these days, our Air Force, our Navy and our Security Forces have been doing everything to deprive the enemy of the remotest chance of destroying the Party leadership and the participants in the Congress. We are well aware what a defeated and desperate enemy is capable of. We have taken all the measures, because it was right to protect this Congress with every possible means.

But our main idea is that as the Party develops, ideas are in practice converted into a culture of the whole people. As the Revolution is institutionalized,

individuals, individual cadres come to play an ever less important role. And this is a source of joy for all of us, because this guarantees the cause of the Revolution. All of us can rest assured. Yes, all of us! Including the most modest citizen of this country and even the one who is born today, as we close this Congress. The Revolution is already guaranteed against any possible contingencies.

The spirit of criticism and the spirit of self-criticism should be our principle. All of us should be concerned with the balance of successes and errors when we hold our next Congress.

But we have already said that conditions have been gradually created in which errors could be anticipated and avoided and, if committed, swiftly rectified. Those are the conditions which have been created, and those are the conditions that have been consolidated at this Congress.

On the other hand, comrades, all of us—and I speak on behalf of all the comrades of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, for whom you have so vigorously expressed such warm feelings of affection—we have been profoundly moved and will never feel vain about it. We well remember one of the great truths of Martí's rich philosophy: "All the glory of the world is contained in a grain of corn."

The confidence which you have bestowed upon us, the honor which you have conferred on all of us will merely serve to make us feel more committed and under an even greater obligation to our Party and to our people. They will serve to make us work more actively to maintain this honor, purity, and the fraternal and human spirit of our Party and our Revolution. There was a time when the Revolution was compared to Saturn, who devoured his own children. But this Revolution will not devour its own children, we here are the men who started this Revolution.

We here are the men who have continued it; assembled here are those who joined the Revolution long

before this day, those who began the struggle before us, like Fabio Grobart and Carvajal, like Blas\* and Carlos Rafael, those who were at Moncada, those who were together in exile, those who were together in Sierra Maestra, those who came to the victory, old men and mature men, and young men, from Fabio to Domínguez\*\* we are all here. And this Revolution has not devoured, and will never devour its own children. But that does not imply any tolerance, but that does not imply any lack of stringency that is necessary for a Revolution.

We are all satisfied with and proud of the humane, fraternal and generous but also firm character of our Revolution. Our way, our future is guaranteed by our Party, by this Congress, and that is the most profound significance of our Congress. The First Congress ushers in a new stage in the Revolution.

We know who is gathered here, and what their merits and capabilities are. We know that there are many heroes of labor, many men and women rewarded by the Revolution, many who have been awarded the medal marking the 20th anniversary of the Moncada assault; we know how the delegates have been elected, and that the best men and women are present here. We are sure that just as we here today speak about the organization of the First Communist Party by a handful of men 50 years ago, so, some 50 or 100 years from now, our grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren will speak about the First Congress.

We have adopted some excellent decisions; we have worked out some excellent documents mapping out our line and setting forth our tasks for the years ahead. They reflect the experience of the past 17 years. Some have asked why we have not called the Congress ear-

\* Blas Roca.—*Ed.*

\*\* Orlando Domínguez—First Secretary, National Committee of the Young Communist League of Cuba.—*Ed.*

lier. What good fortune that we are holding it now! What good fortune, indeed! Because its quality has been determined by 17 years of experience, 17 years of experience! when many errors have been corrected, and when the revolutionary process has become truly mature. This has enabled us to hold a truly serious and mature Congress. Today we have been enabled to hold a great Congress! From here on, Party Congresses will be regularly convened every five years.

I will not dwell any longer on these matters, we have studied the documents, and the unanimity is not the result of any mechanical discipline, but of the fact that the documents were much discussed by the masses. Each of these basic documents has been discussed by the people, by the Party, with everyone expressing their ideas, with everyone making suggestions and putting forth modifications. Finally, the documents were discussed in the Commissions. That explains the virtual unanimity with which the decisions have been adopted, with the exception of one word which had been misused, as one comrade quite correctly indicated. It is a democratic process in which all the theses and all the resolutions of the Congress have been discussed.

I have no intention of speaking at great length. After the Congress we shall have a mass rally. We have held the Congress of the Party, and after it we shall hold a Congress of the people. But before closing the Congress, I should like to deal with one foreign policy issue and to analyze it calmly and impartially.

When our Congress was in session, the President of the United States declared that because of our assistance to the fraternal people of Angola the prospects, or the hopes, or the possibilities for an improvement of relations between the United States and Cuba had, more or less, disappeared.

It is curious that the President of the United States, Mr. Ford, has threatened us with this. We once had relations with them, and they severed them; we once had a sugar quota, and they abolished it; we

once had trade between the United States and Cuba, and they suppressed it; now that there remains for them nothing to suppress, they seek to suppress hopes. This could be called an "embargo on hopes" imposed by the President of the United States. Indeed, he has embargoed what does not actually exist.

Let us recall that on the occasion of the Conference of Solidarity with Puerto Rico, the USA expressed indignation, declaring that this seriously affected the possibilities of improving relations. Gentlemen, if, in order to maintain relations with the United States and to improve relations with the United States, we have to abandon this country's dignity, we have to repudiate this country's principles, how are we, then, to maintain relations with the United States?

It seems that the leaders of the United States assume that the price of improving relations, or trade and economic relations is renunciation of the principles of the Revolution. We shall never renounce our solidarity with Puerto Rico!

What kind of people do they think we are? What kind of country do they think they are dealing with? The old Cuba? No, this is the new Cuba, this is a different country! And unless they get this idea firmly into their heads, I don't know what kind of possibilities there can be for improving relations, because we shall never abandon our Puerto Rican brothers, even if we have no relations with the United States for a hundred years.

Now there is not only Puerto Rico, now there is also Angola. Throughout the revolutionary process, we have conducted a policy of solidarity with the African revolutionary movement. One of the first things that the Revolution did was to send arms to the Algerian fighters, who were carrying on a struggle for their independence. This resulted in a deterioration of relations with the Government of France, which was indignant over our despatch of arms to the Algerian fighters, and our support of them in the United Nations and all the

other international forums. Still, we maintained this policy and continued to help them.

When, after the triumph of the Revolution, the new Algerian State faced certain difficulties and dangers, we did not hesitate to help it and sent our assistance.

Now, about those who fought in Guinea-Bissau. There is the case of Pedrito Rodríguez Peralta, member of the Central Committee, who fought alongside the patriots of Guinea-Bissau.

We began to give support to the progressive governments and revolutionary movements of Africa as soon as the Revolution triumphed. And we shall continue to support them in the future.

This assistance has been expressed in various forms: here we sent arms, there we sent men, or military instructors, doctors, builders; now and again we sent builders, doctors and instructors all together. From the outset, the Revolution has been true to its internationalist policy, giving assistance wherever it could, wherever it could be useful, and wherever it was being requested.

In this way, we have been helping the MPLA and the people of Angola, with whom we have maintained relations and cooperated from the very start of their struggle for independence against Portuguese colonialism. Many Angolan cadres have studied in Cuba.

So, what is the matter? These declarations made by Ford are undoubtedly due to the fact that we have irritated the imperialists. And why are they irritated? Because they had planned to take over Angola before November 11.

Angola is rich in natural resources; Cabinda, one of Angola's provinces, has large oil deposits. That country is rich in minerals—diamonds, copper, iron ore—and that is one of the reasons why the imperialists want to control Angola.

History has shown very well that the following has been taking place over a period of many years: when the imperialists realized that the colonies would liber-

ate themselves one day, they began to organize their own movements. And that is how they set up the FNLA with the help of CIA agents. It is not we who say this; this has been reported by *The New York Times*, which described in every detail how the FNLA was organized by the CIA.

When the people of Angola were about to become independent—just as Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and other areas had earlier become independent—imperialism outlined a way to wipe out the revolutionary movement in Angola. It planned to take over Cabinda, with its oilfields, before November 11, and to take Luanda before November 11. In order to carry out this plan, the US Government hurled South African troops against Angola.

You know that the Republic of South Africa is one of the most hated and most despised states of the world, because there three million whites oppress 14 million African Negroes. The whites have established one of the most opprobrious, one of the most disgraceful and inhuman regimes one can imagine, a regime that has been condemned by the progressive movement of the world, condemned by all the non-aligned nations, condemned by the United Nations.

The Republic of South Africa not only maintains this fascist and racist regime in the South, but also occupies the territory of Namibia, which it has turned into a kind of protectorate.

And here we find the US Government, unscrupulously hurling regular South African troops against Angola. Thus, from the north, Angola was threatened by FNLA units, and from the south invaded by armored columns of regular troops. Everything was prepared for a takeover of Angola before November 11. Indeed, the plan was very reliable, but the whole point is that it failed. They failed to reckon with international solidarity, the support of the heroic Angolan people first of all by the socialist countries, by the revolutionary movements and progressive governments of Africa, with

the support which Angola received from us Cubans, among other progressive governments of the world.

That is something the imperialists failed to reckon with. What was the result? On November 8, they started an offensive on Cabinda, but were routed. At Cabinda, they met with a kind of Playa Girón: within three days, within 72 hours, the invaders of Cabinda were wiped out. On November 10, they were within 25 kilometers of Luanda, the capital of Angola, and their armored columns had gone over to the offensive; they are now at a distance of more than 100 kilometers from Luanda. South Africa's armored columns, which had started their offensive on October 23, took less than 20 days to advance over a distance of 700 kilometers, in a kind of military walkover. However, they were stopped more than 200 kilometers away from Luanda, and were unable to advance any more.

Thus, the Angolan people's heroic struggle, with the support of the international revolutionary movement, has turned the imperialist plan into a fiasco.

That is why the imperialists were irritated, with us, among others. Some imperialists have asked themselves why we have been helping the Angolese, what our interests there are. They are in the habit of thinking along these lines: when a country takes some action, it must want to obtain oil, or copper, or diamonds, or some other natural resource. On the contrary, we have no material interest, but in the light of imperialist logic, this is incomprehensible, because they are guided exclusively by chauvinistic, nationalistic and self-seeking considerations. In helping the people of Angola, we have been doing our elementary internationalist duty! We have not sought any oil, we have not sought any copper, we have not sought any iron ore, we have not sought anything at all. We have merely been pursuing a principled policy. We have not remained aloof when seeing an African people, a fraternal people, about to be gobbled up by the imperialists, and brutal-

ly attacked by the Republic of South Africa. No, we have not, and we shall not remain aloof!

That is why when the imperialists ask what our interests are, we must tell them this: if you wish to understand why we have been helping Angola, you will have to take up and read a manual on proletarian internationalism.

There we have the reason for their irritation and threats.

Can you imagine the future of our country in case it had paid the price of relations with the United States, of trade with the United States by reverting to the state in which it was in the past?

Can you imagine this country ceasing to express its solidarity with its revolutionary brothers in the rest of the world?

Can you imagine us ceasing to express our solidarity with the Vietnamese, the Laotians, the Cambodians, the Africans, the Yemenis, the Arabs, with Syria, Algeria, Guinea, with all these countries?

Our policy of solidarity is no secret. One of the most remarkable facts at this Congress is the international presence in our country. We have here with us the representatives of the countries which have helped us, among them the delegation of the Soviet Union, which has given us great proof and taught us great lessons of internationalism. Because, despite the distance between us, the Soviet Union has not allowed imperialism to strangle us, to gobble us up and to destroy us; because it sent us oil when we were left without oil, because it sent us arms when we were menaced with aggression, because it sent us its men again when it was necessary.

We have here with us numerous representatives of countries which command authority, who have spoken and have addressed our people with much warmth and great respect, who have given us a sense of belonging to a great and mighty revolutionary family.

Among the speakers here was the representative of



Algeria, the representative of the Republic of Guinea, the representative of Guinea-Bissau, the representative of Somalia, the representative of Yemen, the representative of Congo, the representative of Syria, a country in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism in the Middle East.

It is no secret at all that at a time of danger and threats to the Syrian Republic, our men were in Syria. Nor is it a secret that at a time of danger for the Republic of Algeria, our men were in Algeria. Our people and our Armed Forces have very broadly cooperated with many countries of Africa and Asia. And we told the Vietnamese: "We are prepared to shed our blood for Viet Nam!"

That is how this revolutionary family has been forged. What does imperialism want? Does it want us to break with this family? Does it want us to stop being a people expressing solidarity with these fraternal peoples, who are fighting against imperialism? Well, then, what are the hopes and prospects that the President of the United States seeks to embargo? At this price, we shall never have relations with the United States! Despite the fact that the policy of our Revolution is a policy of peace and relations of coexistence of countries that have different ideologies and different social systems. But the United States does not agree with this. It is as if we had demanded that the United States should carry out a land reform or nationalize its electric power plants, if it wanted to have relations with us. What kind of conditions does imperialism claim to set before our country?

We express our solidarity with Angola, we are helping Angola, and we shall continue to help the Angolan people! We request the Congress of our Party to support the policy of the Party leadership in giving assistance to the heroic people of Angola by all possible ways and means. (*All the delegates rise, holding up their credentials. Prolonged applause. Exclamations: "Angola! Angola! Angola!"*)

The imperialists already know our country's stand and line.

On the other hand, it is impossible to imagine a more stupid policy than the one being pursued by the imperialists in Angola. It is stupid, because, having just extricated themselves from the Viet Nam gamble, they are in the process of being embroiled in a gamble which is equally latent with grave consequences. What for? What for? We should like to give a few facts.

South Africa, that is the racists, the fascists of South Africa, are fiercely hated by all the peoples of Africa. On that continent, the words "South Africa" have the same ring as the word "Israel" has in the Arab countries. The US policy of supporting the aggression and encouraging the aggression of South Africa against Angola has divorced that country from all the peoples of Africa and has aroused their implacable hostility.

But at this point this needs to be said. The province of Cabinda is firmly in the hands of the MPLA. As I have already said, the attack which began on November 8 has been vigorously repulsed. Since then, the popular forces have been considerably strengthened, and now the imperialists will find it hard to take Cabinda. However, much oil is being extracted in Cabinda on the shelf, and there are oil rigs along the coast where many US citizens work. Despite the war, production has not been interrupted for a single day. But these are US enterprises operating there, and it is the MPLA fighters who protect the oil rigs and the other equipment, and provide security for the US citizens working in the Cabinda oilfields. While the USA has been arming the mercenary troops, while the USA has been hurling South African troops against Angola, MPLA fighters have been protecting US equipment and providing security for the US citizens in Cabinda.

We believe that this is the right policy. It is evidence of good sense, it is evidence of wisdom, it is evidence of the maturity of the African revolutionary movement.

These installations are hard to operate. The techniques of extracting oil on the shelf are very complicated. And what has been the policy of the Angolese? Their policy has been to provide security, to give guarantees and facilitate the development of these oilfields.

Besides, it is evidence of the Angolese common sense, and the intelligence with which they have pursued their policy. It shows that the African revolutionary movement is prepared, whenever appropriate, to negotiate on the exploitation of various natural resources.

But the African revolutionary movement will never reconcile itself with racism, with apartheid, it will never reconcile itself with South Africa's occupation of Angola. Because South Africa's occupation of Angola poses a threat to the whole of Africa; the occupation of Angola by the South African racists poses a grave threat to Zambia, to Mozambique, to Zaire, to the People's Republic of Congo and to the whole of Africa. And Africa is fully determined to support the MPLA movement and its struggle. The number of governments and countries in Africa prepared to send arms and men for the struggle against the South African racists has been steadily growing. Africa will not allow itself to be devoured by South Africa. And in this struggle the Cuban people will be on the side of the African peoples!

In its attempts to take over Angola, South Africa will be confronted with resistance on the part of the whole of Black Africa.

I do not believe that the European countries will be so rash as to associate themselves with South Africa in its fascist and racist crusade; it is undoubtedly a stupid step on the part of the United States Government to join in this campaign, while the Angolese have given proof of a correct and reasonable policy, even going to the extent—I repeat—of having MPLA fighters protect US oil rigs and other equipment and provide security for US citizens in Cabinda.

We don't see how the Ford Administration can justify its acts before US public opinion, and what pretext it can invent for pursuing a policy of aggression against Angola in alliance with the South African racists.

That is the foreign policy issue which we wanted to deal with: we want to tell the imperialists that we don't need anything in Angola, that we have been pursuing our traditional policy of internationalism, that we have been helping the Angolan people, and that we are fully determined to go on helping it! We naturally deeply regret that Mr. Ford has been forced to "cancel" and "embargo" the hopes. The fact is that we are aware that with this kind of US policy there has never been any ground for such hopes.

Comrade delegates, within a few minutes we shall rejoin our people. They met this Congress with such enthusiasm and warmth, following its work with close attention, and support it by their labor and élan. We have no doubt at all that our people will adopt the Congress decisions as its own with ardor and revolutionary passion.

We should like to express our profound gratitude to all the 87 fraternal delegations who have come here to invest this Congress with especial importance and prestige by their presence. We have truly felt this to be a great incentive.

We have also been inspired by the fact that they have had a good impression of the quality of our Congress.

For all of us, comrades, these have been unforgettable days. We have all been deeply moved. We have all experienced much happiness. And all of us have felt a sense of pride for the cause of the Revolution and for our Party. We have all felt a sense of confidence in the future, which this Congress has given us. All of us, the more than 3,000 delegates, have been aware that these days we have been working for the future of our country, that these days we have been working for history.

We shall never forget the impressions of this Congress. We shall never forget the fraternal spirit, the human warmth, the purity and unity which we have witnessed at this Congress.

Our Party is closely united in ideology and common purpose. We have a well-knit leadership. That is why we can say that never before has the Revolution been so strong, never before have the Party and the people been more closely united, and never before has our revolutionary consciousness been so high.

That is why, I repeat, we have felt a sense of pride for our Party and for our Congress.

We thank you all, comrades, for your efforts in this period; for the way you have behaved, for the perfect organization, for the exemplary discipline and, especially, for the consciousness which you have displayed in front of our guests in this period.

On behalf of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, we embrace you all.

*¡Patria o Muerte!*

*¡Venceremos!*

## TO THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

Dear comrades,

On this momentous day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the multimillion contingent of Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people, sends to you, delegates to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, all the Communists and the working people of the Republic of Cuba, its warm fraternal greetings and wishes of success in the work of the highest Party forum.

Continuing and developing the militant traditions of the first Marxist-Leninist Party and other revolutionary detachments of the country, the Communist Party of Cuba has grown into a leading and guiding force and has become a true vanguard in building a new, socialist society in the Western hemisphere. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba is a historic event in the steady and unswerving development of the Cuban Revolution.

The heroes of Moncada, *Granma* and Sierra Maestra, all the staunch revolutionary forces of Cuba that rallied round Comrade Fidel Castro and his comrades, have unhesitatingly assumed responsibility for the destiny of their country, succeeded in inspiring the masses with revolutionary ideals and in rousing them to the struggle for a better future, and for socialism.

The great achievements in every sphere of social life with which the Republic of Cuba marks the Congress have radically changed the make-up of the country. They constitute a reliable foundation for the further development of the socialist economy and social relations, the raising of the living standards and cultural level of the working people, and for the flourishing of science and culture.

Your Congress, dear friends, is to adopt very important program documents on Party building and State development and to outline the short-term and long-term tasks of the country's domestic and foreign policy. All this determines its outstanding significance both for Cuba itself and for the entire communist and revolutionary liberation movement.

Soviet Communists are confident that the Congress decisions will further promote the cohesion of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia of Cuba rallied round their Communist Party, and will contribute to new successes of the great cause of socialism.

We are deeply gratified that the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba share common views on all the key problems of our time. All-round fraternal cooperation between our two Parties is a firm foundation of Soviet-Cuban friendship. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses its resolve to continue doing everything constantly to strengthen the unbreakable union between our countries and peoples.

The close ties of friendship and brotherhood between Cuba and other socialist countries based on loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have grown stronger from year to year. The Communist Party of Cuba has been making an important contribution to the common cause of struggle for the unity of the world communist movement, and all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The international prestige of the Republic of Cuba, which has consistently pursued a policy of strug-

gle for peace, security and social progress, has steadily grown.

We wish the Cuban Communists and the entire heroic Cuban people fresh victories in the cause of peace and socialism, for the sake of the prosperity of their socialist country.

May the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Cuban Communists grow stronger in the interests of our Parties and countries, in the interests of the greater cohesion of the world communist movement and of all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

TO THE FIRST CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

Dear comrades,

In the address of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the message of greetings of its Central Committee to your Congress my voice is among the voices of fifteen and a half million Soviet Communists. Mine is the voice of a man who has the honor and happiness to serve the great cause of the Party as the General Secretary of its Central Committee.

At the same time I should like to say a few words to the delegates to the Congress and all the Cuban Communists on my own behalf.

I recently heard someone say that a bit of Cuba will be found in the heart of every Soviet citizen. I think this is a very apt remark. It reflects the feeling of warm affection and revolutionary solidarity which the Communists and all citizens of the world's first country of victorious socialism feel toward those who were the first to raise the banner of socialism in the Western hemisphere.

The Soviet people know full well that the path to the First Congress of your militant Communist Party has been a path of courage and great achievement. It was illuminated by the ideas of Karl Marx, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and José Martí. It was marked by the unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people and their highly developed sense of patriotism and internationalism.

Wonderful are the fruits of the struggle and work of the Cuban people and the Cuban Communists, led by our dear friend and comrade, Fidel Castro, an ardent revolutionary and patriot, who is well known, respected and loved by progressive people throughout the world. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, which is to discuss and adopt documents of truly historic importance for your Party and the country as a whole, can with every reason be called the congress of victors storming new heights in the struggle for their country's happy future.

Although to my great regret I was unable to come to Havana on this occasion, I should like you to know that all my thoughts and feelings are with you, my dear Cuban friends. I still have vivid and unforgettable memories of the warm and fraternal meetings I had with the citizens of socialist Cuba in Havana and Santiago, and the heartfelt and friendly talks with Fidel and other Cuban leaders.

I want the delegates at the Congress to rest assured that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Political Bureau and Secretariat are constantly concerned further to strengthen and develop fraternal relations with Cuba. You may also be sure that, as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I shall continue to do all I can so that Soviet-Cuban cooperation, which rests on complete mutual trust and the noble principles of socialist internationalism, should grow in depth and become more fruitful, that the unshakeable militant solidarity of our Parties should strengthen, and that the indestructible friendship between our peoples should widen and flourish.

Please, accept, dear comrades, my heartfelt wishes of further great achievements in the building of socialism and of further successes and prosperity for the Communists and all the working people of fraternal Cuba.

With communist greetings,

L. BREZHNEV

SPEECH BY M. A. SUSLOV,  
MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND  
SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,  
HEAD OF THE CPSU DELEGATION

Esteemed delegates,

Dear comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of all the Soviet Communists and working people, we extend heartfelt greetings to your Congress and wish you every success in your work.

We bring fraternal communist greetings to the Cuban revolutionaries, to those who at the head of the masses have fought imperialism and the latifundists and capitalists, to those who have led the Socialist Revolution, and started the communist movement in Cuba 50 years ago.

We bring fraternal communist greetings to the courageous working class, the hard-working peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the fine women, the students and schoolchildren of Cuba, to the heroic officers and men of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, to all those who are building and defending their socialist homeland.

It gives me especial pleasure to convey the warmest greetings and the very best wishes to your Congress from Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party.

During these momentous days, all Soviet people turn their thoughts to fraternal Cuba, following the work of your Congress with keen comradely interest.

A Communist Party Congress always leaves a deep impression on the life of every socialist country. Your Congress is a historic event: it is a summing-up of the Cuban Revolution's remarkable victories, of the outstanding achievements in building socialism, and it opens up new horizons for the country.

Today we recall the glorious stages of the truly legendary road that you have covered, which epitomizes your revolutionary heroism and boundless loyalty to the people.

"Revolutions are barren if they are not affirmed by the pen at school and by the plow in the field," said José Martí, the great Cuban thinker and patriot. The plow of the Revolution has dug deep into Cuban soil. After winning freedom, the Revolution directed its powerful forces to work and creative endeavor.

It has moved mountains. The Revolution put at the helm of state those who for centuries slaved for local and foreign exploiters. It sent the children of workers and peasants, who could not even have dreamt of such things in the past, to schools and universities. It turned the country into a nation-wide building site. It returned the nation's wealth to the people, released the people's potentialities and talents, established social equality and raised high the dignity of the working man.

What other country in Latin America has a right to claim such social achievements, such a fast and radical turn from backwardness to economic, scientific, technical and cultural progress? Where else is the younger generation brought up with such paternal care?

All this has become possible only because Cuba chose the socialist road. Relying on the help of her friends, she has followed this road consistently, despite tremendous difficulties and in spite of imperialist aggression, blockade, subversion and blackmail. The Cubans' heroic deeds for the cause of the Revolution were great, but their heroic deeds in everyday work and in building a new world are equally great.

The outstanding international significance of the Cuban Revolution is that it has shown, vividly and convincingly, that in our time, when the correlation of forces in the world has changed in favor of socialism, even the people of a small semicolonial country can achieve full national liberation, carry out radical social transformations, overcome economic backwardness, and make impressive progress in every area of social life.

Another, no less vital conclusion from the experience of the Cuban Revolution is that the road to socialism can be reliably secured only when the revolutionaries and their Party are inseparably connected with the widest sections of the people, when they follow the teaching of Marx and Lenin, are loyal to the ideas of international solidarity, and when the Revolution knows how to defend its gains staunchly and selflessly.

You are discussing the results of the work done and the questions of the country's further development. Comrade Fidel Castro gave a vivid account of all this in his profound and meaningful report to the Congress.

His outstanding speech was permeated with revolutionary passion, the spirit of creativity, a truly communist, principled approach and internationalism.

We have read with great interest the program documents tabled for the Congress to consider. They reflect the experience of world socialism and the general laws of its development, which have been tested by life. They vividly reflect the specific conditions of the Cuban Revolution, and the Cuban Communists' creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

We think it is highly valuable that the documents worked out show a wide, comprehensive approach to socialist transformations. Building a solid economic base is, of course, the keystone of real progress toward socialism. But it is just as important—and this is a noteworthy feature of the Congress—that it gives very careful attention to questions of ideological struggle,



Head of the CPSU delegation M. A. Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, speaks at the Congress



communist upbringing, education, culture and work with young people. The Revolution in the minds, the intellectual enrichment of the masses, is not only a guarantee of solid economic successes, it is also the prime condition for the full development and perfection of man himself.

One can say with confidence that now the Communist Party of Cuba is equipped with reliable guidelines in every area of domestic and international life. The adoption of these vital documents brings the country to a new stage in socialist development and opens vast and inspiring prospects before her. The Cuban Revolution is demonstrating its growing maturity and strength!

The tasks which you have set yourselves will, of course, demand intense effort from the Party and the people. But we are confident that you will fulfill them. We are confident because for all Cuban people the socialist cause has become their vital cause. Because the people are guided by the Communist Party of Cuba, tempered by the Revolution and enriched with experience in building socialism. Because the Party is led by an impassioned revolutionary, an outstanding Communist, a man who enjoys great respect all over the world—our dear friend Fidel!

Dear comrades,

The Cuban Revolution has not only radically changed your country's image, it has left an indelible impression on the development of the whole liberation process in Latin America. And if today the prospect of a "second liberation" of this continent is becoming more and more realistic, this is largely due to the influence of Cuba's example.

Big changes are already taking place on the continent. This is vividly reflected in the democratic transformations which are now under way in a number of Latin American countries. The people's fight for the right to be masters of their own country, to dispose of their own national wealth is expanding. The Latin

American countries' determination to establish fair terms for economic exchange and mutually advantageous and equal cooperation on their continent is growing. All the imperialist attempts to isolate Cuba and to strangle it by mounting a blockade have failed. Even those who tried for many years to wipe Cuba off the political map of the Western hemisphere will have to recognize the Isle of Liberty unless they want to be isolated themselves.

Cuba's principled and consistent policy in defense of the people's sacred right to freedom and independence, and against imperialist interference in their affairs has won the first socialist state in America great prestige in the Latin American countries, akin to her in language and in history, and all over the world.

It is quite logical, comrades, that it was here, in Havana, at their June 1975 conference that Communists from all over Latin America discussed current problems concerning their activities, made a joint analysis of the present stage of the revolutionary and democratic movement's development, and clearly defined its prospects. Like the Communists of other countries, we, too, closely followed the work of our Latin American comrades.

The document adopted by the Latin American Communists' conference stressed that the people in the capitalist countries see the prospects of full social emancipation and national liberation with increasing clarity. The search for ways to move ahead toward the triumph of the ideals of social progress is now going on everywhere. And the Havana Conference Declaration states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism alone provides the right answers to the problems that arise in this connection.

For many years now imperialist propaganda has slandered the Communists, tried to give the masses a distorted idea of their goals, to present them as crafty plotters and enemies of democracy. Meanwhile—and this is shown vividly in the documents of the Latin

American Communist Parties' conference and in other documents of the international communist movement—it is the Communists who are the staunchest and most consistent defenders of the freedom of the people and nations, fighters for a just social order, and advocates of rapid and all-round progress. It is the Communists who work to consolidate peace and to develop international cooperation, to establish relations between states with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. These principles were first put forward by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin himself, by the leader of the proletarian Revolution and founder of the Soviet state.

The Communists do not merely issue high-sounding slogans. They are people who, for the sake of their convictions and in the interests of their class and people, and in the interests of the working people all over the world, have fought tirelessly, undaunted by hardship and unsparing of their lives.

The chronicles of the Latin American Communist Parties' battles are filled with episodes of true revolutionary courage. And from this rostrum I should like to express our Party's fraternal solidarity with all the Communists on this continent, who are fighting selflessly for their countries' freedom and independence, for the emancipation of the working people from exploitation, and to express our fraternal solidarity with all the Latin American revolutionaries languishing in prison in Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and other countries, and, above all, with our dear friend Luis Corvalán, who is incarcerated in the prison of the fascist executioners. Like millions of our brothers by class and conviction we are with you, Comrade Lucho! The people of Chile will win back their freedom!

Comrades, the major social changes now taking place in Latin America have become a part of the revolutionary liberation and democratic movement which now, more than ever, is a single worldwide whole.

Cuba is one of the most vivid examples. is herself a proof of this. Your country plays a truly active role in the socialist community; it contributes a great deal to jointly working out and implementing our common international policy. As a Latin American country, the Republic of Cuba is cooperating with her neighbors in defending their economic independence and promoting their common progress. Cuba is active in the national liberation movement and has great authority among the non-aligned countries.

Is this not vivid evidence of how social and political processes in various places and in various areas of public life interact and how they blend together into a world revolutionary process?

What applies to Cuba also applies to the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. We have never separated nor do we now separate our interests from the interests of other contingents of the revolutionary movement, for we realize full well that the attainment of the goals each of them aims at largely depends on the cohesion and joint action of them all.

That is how things stand, above all, in the striving to solve the most vital problem of our time—that of averting a new world war and consolidating world peace. The Soviet Union and other socialist states, all progressive and peace-loving forces have made great progress in this direction in recent years by acting with vigor and perseverance. But we all realize very well that resting on one's laurels inevitably means slipping back.

Consistent work is needed to ensure that the treaties concluded in the past few years between states of the two social systems should be implemented precisely and scrupulously. It is necessary to achieve a real limitation of the arms race and, as the socialist states propose, use the resources that this makes available to fight hunger and disease and to help the developing countries. The utmost vigilance is needed against

the machinations of the enemies of peace and international cooperation, both in the West and in the East, and they must be confronted by the united will of all peace-loving revolutionary and progressive forces of our time.

This struggle for the consolidation of peace also creates favorable international conditions for social and political progress in the world.

It is a universally recognized truth that each revolutionary contingent deals independently with the social development tasks in its own country, taking into account national peculiarities and traditions. Yet, the strength of the fighting revolutionary contingents is increased many times over when they act together, in cooperation, on the basis of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching. This has been proved clearly by experience both in our country and in the European socialist countries, and in countries like the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and revolutionary Cuba.

It is quite natural, therefore, that the Communists in different countries appreciate the experience of their comrades in struggle, the close contacts with each other, cooperation and unity of action, and the opportunity to analyze together the course of the class struggle, and to enrich their strategy and tactics from the international experience of the communist movement. This is what Marxists-Leninists stand for, whether in Europe or in America, in Asia or in Africa. Problems connected with the strengthening of peace and the development of social progress can and will be solved on this basis.

Dear comrades,

Fidel Castro and Leonid Brezhnev signed the Soviet-Cuban Declaration here, in Havana, two years ago. This summarized the rich experience of cooperation between our Parties and our states, and reflected our joint resolve to preserve, strengthen and raise to new heights the unbreakable friendship of the two fraternal peoples. And we note with great satisfaction that

the ideas of this document are being consistently put into practice.

We Soviet people are proud that we have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in Cuba's hours of trial. It gives us pleasure to know that there is not a single area of life today in which the results of our cooperation cannot be seen, and that the Soviet people and the Cubans speak one language—the language of friendship, of internationalism and communist brotherhood!

In these months and days, life in our vast country is geared to the coming 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Each work collective, every worker in our national economy, science and culture is striving to usher in the Congress with exemplary fulfillment of production assignments, with firmer labor discipline, and make the fullest use of every production reserve and opportunity. We look to our Congress in the knowledge that in the next five-year period we shall tackle and carry out still greater tasks in building communism.

And, as we reach the new frontiers in our onward march toward communism, we proudly see ourselves as one of the contingents of the great revolutionary movement of our time. We and the fraternal socialist states are marching in the same ranks within a family of peoples who are confidently building their future. And of course we are happy to know that the heroic people of your country, our loyal friends—the working people, workers, peasants, the Communists of Cuba—are with us in our common march along the road to communism.

From the bottom of our hearts, dear friends, we wish you fulfillment of everything that you plan and achievement of prosperity for your socialist country. With true feelings of comradeship and brotherhood, with full awareness of our unity, I should like to proclaim from the rostrum of your Congress:

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba!

May Soviet-Cuban friendship grow stronger!  
Long live peace!  
Long live communism!

Addressing the Congress delegates, M. A. Suslov said:

"Dear comrades,

"It is with great pleasure that I now convey a message to your Congress on behalf of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of our Party's Central Committee."

M. A. Suslov read out the message which the delegates and guests met with stormy and prolonged applause.